

JPRS 72209

9 November 1978

U S S R

TRANSLATIONS ON USSR POLITICAL  
AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 904

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A  
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<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>		1. Report No. <b>JPRS 72209</b>	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle  TRANSLATIONS ON USSR - POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS, No. 904				5. Report Date <b>9 November 1978</b>
6.				6.
7. Author(s)				8. Performing Organization Rept. No.
9. Performing Organization Name and Address  Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201				10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.
				11. Contract/Grant No.
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above				13. Type of Report & Period Covered
				14.
15. Supplementary Notes				
16. Abstracts  The report contains information on government and party structure, policy and problems, law and social regulation, education, and cultural and social aspects of Soviet life, trade union and Komsomol activities.				
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors  USSR Political Science Sociology Government Communism Law (Jurisprudence) Education Culture (Social Sciences)				
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms				
17c. COSATI Field/Group    5D, 5F, 5K				
18. Availability Statement  Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) <b>UNCLASSIFIED</b>	21. No. of Pages <b>31</b>	
		20. Security Class (This Page) <b>UNCLASSIFIED</b>	22. Price <b>A05</b>	

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## ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES THIRTY-YEAR HISTORY VIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 78 signed to press  
14 Jun 78 pp 216-224

/Article by B. F. Martynov: "Thirty Years of the OAS: Stages and Results"//

/Text/ The Organization of American States (OAS), which was created on the initiative of the United States in 1948, marked its 30th anniversary under the conditions of extreme estrangement and insurmountable contradictions. This anniversary was more reminiscent of a funeral, some observers note. As a result of the split of the OAS, which had become an obvious fact in recent years, doubts about the expedience of its further existence are being expressed both in Latin America and even in the United States. In the words of the secretary-general of this organization, A. Orfila, "the inter-American system and its main unit, the OAS, are confronted perhaps with the most serious difficulties in their entire history. The conflicts between the goals of the United States and Latin America are intensifying. The conflicts and confrontation between them have reached a critical level."<sup>1</sup>

The stepping up of the struggle on the question of the reorganization of the inter-American system, for example, serves as a display of the unprecedented aggravation of the chronic crisis of the OAS in the 1970's. Several years ago the Latin American countries raised the question of such a reform which would encompass the entirety of inter-American trade, economic, military and political relations within the framework of the system, its ideological bases, the organizational structure and nature of activity.

The process of revising the basic documents of the inter-American system--the Charter of the OAS and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio de Janeiro Pact)--took three years. The work of the ad hoc commission for reform aggravated even more the contradictions in the OAS: between the United States, on the one hand, and the majority of Latin American states, on the other.

In July 1975 the representatives of the member-states of the OAS signed a protocol of reforms of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. Later reorganization came to a deadlock. The United States, in not agreeing

with some proposals adopted on the initiative of Latin American countries, refuses to sign the OAS-approved drafts of the other documents--the Charter of the OAS, the conventions on collective economic security and cooperation for the purposes of development. Addressing the 7th Session of the OAS General Assembly, which took place in June 1977 on the Island of Grenada, U. S. Secretary of State C. Vance spoke disapprovingly of the implemented reforms and proposed his own plan of reorganization of the OAS.<sup>2</sup>

The OAS crisis has an objective basis. In the form in which it was conceived and set up, this organization contradicts the fundamental interests of the Latin American peoples. In the formation of the OAS Washington was guided by the global and regional goals only of American imperialism. On the general level it became the first link in the chain of military-political blocs, which were created by it in the heat of the Cold War, on the basis of the doctrine of the "repulsion and containment of communism" and were aimed against the socialist states. On the regional level the OAS as the most important component of the inter-American system was called upon to consolidate the dominant position of the United States in the Western Hemisphere, isolating the nations of Latin America not only from their natural allies in the anti-imperialist struggle--the socialist countries, but to a certain extent--primarily on the economic level--also from the countries of Western Europe. Precisely for this reason in Latin America this organization was graphically and accurately called the "department of colonies" of Washington. The years that followed its creation clearly demonstrated that subordination to the imperialism of the United States, of which the OAS is a tool, is one of the most important conditions of the exploitation of the Latin American countries and, consequently, far from the last factor of the aggravation of their socio-economic problems. This predetermined the struggle of broad groups of the public of Latin America for the revision of the entire system of relations with the United States, including within the framework of the OAS, a struggle which is constantly growing, encompassing newer and newer spheres, and serve as the cause of the evolution of the OAS.

The history of this organization can be arbitrarily divided into three stages: the first stage--from 1948 to the middle of the 1960's, when the United States was still able to impose upon the Latin American countries in the OAS any decision necessary to the United States; the second stage--from the middle of the 1960's to the beginning of the 1970's, which is characterized as if by an equilibrium of forces in the inter-American system; the third stage--the 1970's, when the initiative in the OAS began to shift to the hands of the states of Latin America.

At the first stage the uncontested hegemony of the United States in the Western Hemisphere still existed. Having considerably intensified its economic and financial potential and having taken advantage of the weakening of European rivals in the early postwar period, the United States finally transformed Latin America into a sphere of its economic and political domination. For the purpose of consolidating the changes which has occurred, the United States under the pretext of "continental solidarity" began to

alliance the ruling circles of the states of the region hoped to solve the vital socio-economic problems of their countries and to obtain certain economic concessions and benefits from their northern neighbor. For a long time these hopes determined their policy within the inter-American system.

However, the United States, not being interested in tying its hands with respect to Latin America by any economic obligations, initially put off the holding of conferences on questions of trade and economic relations in the Western Hemisphere (1954 and 1957), and then reduced to naught the decisions adopted there.

The refusal of the United States to discuss the economic problems vitally important to the states of the region inevitably led to the aggravation of inter-American relations. Moreover, the "junior partners" with each year became more and more convinced that Washington was using the OAS above all as a repressive tool against themselves. As a result, it became more difficult for the United States to adopt decisions in the OAS, which were advantageous to itself. At Punta del Este it achieved with difficulty the two-thirds majority of votes necessary for the expulsion of Cuba. Consequently Washington was still able to force the Latin American countries (except Mexico) to break diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba. To a great extent this was achieved owing to the extensively boosted program "Alliance for Progress," which promised to the states of the region economic and financial support in exchange for their loyalty with respect to the United States.

The upsurge of the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America, which arose as a consequence of the change of the global balance of forces in favor of peace, socialism and national liberation, as well as the inspiring influence of the Cuban revolution, was conducive to the intensification of the contradictions in the OAS and to the start of the second stage of its evolution. It was characterized by the increased national self-consciousness of the peoples of the Latin American countries and by their aspiration to pursue an independent foreign policy line. As a result the United States began to encounter increasing opposition of the states of Latin America in the OAS.

This was especially displayed in 1965, during the invasion of the Dominican Republic by the United States. In order to overcome the opposition of Latin Americans to the unilateral intervention of the United States, Washington agreed to the formation of so-called "inter-American armed forces," which were to create the appearance of a collective action of the OAS in the Dominican Republic.

In view of the sharp increase of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America the United States considered it extremely important to create "inter-American armed forces" on a permanent basis. For the sake of this, as well as to eliminate the split within the OAS, which had already become a fait accompli, after making some concessions to the Latin American countries, Washington agreed to the reform of its charter.

However, the first reform of the Charter of the OAS, which was concluded by the adoption in February 1967 of the Protocol of Buenos Aires, which supplemented it, marked the failure of the repeated attempts of the United States and the reactionary regimes supporting it to create "inter-American armed forces." The protocol reflected the new balance of forces in the inter-American system, which had formed in the middle and at the end of the 1960's, when the United States no longer had sufficient power to impose on other members of the OAS any decision it needed, but when the objective conditions for the elaboration of a joint position of the Latin American countries and the radicalization of their demands with respect to the United States had not yet emerged.

The articles of the Charter of the OAS, which concern economic and social questions, were substantially expanded. However, as before, the right of the developing states to manage their own natural resources remained outside the charter, there were not included in it norms which would regulate the activity of foreign monopolies, statutes on the subordination of foreign capital to the laws of the recipient countries, as well as on protection against economic aggression. The aggravation of the inter-American contradictions in the 1970's brought up the need for the more extensive revision of the entire inter-American system. The Latin American states conducted a consistent and coordinated policy in the relations with the United States during these years above all in the area of trade and economics. The Latin American Charter of Agreement, which was submitted to the United States on behalf of 21 states in 1969 (that is, still before the Protocol of Buenos Aires went into effect), called upon the countries of the region to pursue a common policy with respect to the United States and contained a large number of economic demands which were not reflected in the Charter of the OAS.

The beginning of the process of the relaxation of tension in the 1970's--the result of a new balance of forces between socialism and imperialism, the further intensification of the overall, including economic, crisis of capitalism--all this was conducive to the recognition by the Latin American countries of the impossibility of ensuring independent economic development without a comprehensive and radical revision of inter-American relations, which were permeated by the spirit of the Cold War, and therefore were in conflict with the demands of the times.

The existence of a closed military and political block, which adheres to the ideology of anticomunism, which binds the Latin American countries to the global strategy of Washington, clearly prevented the expansion of their co-operation with socialist and developing states.

In this situation the next, acutest stage of the crisis of the OAS began. The struggle of the Latin American countries within this organization spread to new spheres. In addition to the economic demands the states of the region began to actively speak out for the democratization of international relations in the Western Hemisphere, for bringing them in line

implement plans of the creation of an inter-American organization which was provided, first of all, with military and political functions.

In September 1947 at an inter-American conference in Rio de Janeiro Washington imposed on the Latin American countries the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. The main principles of this military pact subsequently were included in the Charter of the OAS, which was adopted at a conference in Bogata in April 1948.

The United States constantly strove to intensify the anticommunist nature of the organization created by it. In the middle of the 1950's it began to use it actively as a tool of the suppression of the national liberation movement, which was gaining strength in Latin America.

At the 10th Inter-American Conference in Caracas (March 1954) Washington was able to impose on the Latin American countries the "Declaration of Solidarity for the Purpose of Maintaining Political Unity of the American States in Face of the Intervention of International Communism". This anticommunist declaration served as the ideological basis for the preparation and accomplishment of the imperialist invasion of Guatemala, in order to suppress the bourgeois democratic revolution that had begun there. The United States shielded its interventionist actions by the so-called "doctrine of priority," which was placed by it at the basis of the activity of the OAS. The idea of this theory reduced to the elimination of the United Nations from the consideration of the conflicts which arose in the Western Hemisphere, transferring them to priority consideration in the OAS, where the United States was in complete charge. This doctrine was used, in particular, for attempts to remove the Security Council from the examination of the complaints of Guatemala (1954), Cuba (1960), Panama (1964) and the Dominican Republic (1965), which were sent to the United Nations in response to aggressive actions on the part of the United States.

Another reactionary doctrine, which was taken up by the OAS, was the so-called "doctrine of ideological incompatibility," which was used with respect to Cuba. The Cuban revolution dealt a mighty blow to imperialist domination in Latin America. After the failure of the invasion of (Playa-Giron) the United States decided to involve the OAS in the struggle against the republic. In spite of the fact that there is no regulation on the expulsion of a member-state in the charter of the organization, at the 8th Meeting of Consultation in Punta del Este (January 1962) the United States nevertheless achieved the expulsion of Cuba from the OAS on the basis of the adopted resolution on "the incompatibility of Marxism-Leninism with the principles of the inter-American system."<sup>3</sup>

The entry of the Latin American countries into the anticommunist military and political bloc of American imperialism and the obedient following at first of the lead of the foreign policy of the United States were explained not only by their very strong political, military and economic dependence on the United States in the postwar period. By means of the inter-American

with the current situation in the world, for the extension of the process of detente, which had encompassed the planet, to this region as well. The initiative in the OAS shifted to the Latin American countries, which began to impose on the United States jointly elaborated decisions. And whereas the Latin American Charter of Agreement was still permeated with the hope that the unequal nature of the relations with the United States could be changed by means of the existing mechanisms of the inter-American system, the Document of Bogata, which was adopted in February 1973 at the 8th Session of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council (MESS), calls for the implementation of the radical reform of the entire structure of this system.

In the Document of Bogata it is proposed to recognize the right of each state to determine the path of its development independently, in conformity with its own ideological concepts. In it the great importance of the relaxation of international tension is stressed and there is contained in it a call to eliminate the ideological obstacles to trade and economic relations with socialist countries.<sup>4</sup>

The 3d Session of the General Assembly of the OAS, which took place in April 1973 in Washington, marked the beginning of the practical struggle for the radical reorganization of the inter-American system. It unanimously resolved to create an Ad Hoc Commission for the Reorganization of the Inter-American System (SKRMS). The SKRMS was ordered "to thoroughly study and give an evaluation of the philosophy, documents, structure and activity of the inter-American system, as well as to propose measures which are necessary for bringing it in line with the changes which have occurred both in the member-states and in the entire world."<sup>5</sup> In accordance with resolution 127 it was recommended to the commission to take into account in its work the principles of the Document of Bogata.

The delegates of the United States and some countries with openly pro-imperialist regimes, having agreed under the pressure of the majority to the making of a new reform of the inter-American system, attempted to put aside the question of a change of its principles and to reduce everything to a simplification of the procedures in the OAS and to the improvement of the existing structure of the organization.

The adoption at the mentioned session on the initiative of the majority of Latin American countries of the Declaration on the Principles of Inter-American Relations became an important step in the direction of the revision of the ideological foundations of the inter-American system. The declaration proclaimed the right of each state to freely choose the form of government and of the economic and social system. The majority of the states of the continent spoke in favor of recognizing the principle contained in the declaration of ideological pluralism, which is understood as the permissibility of the coexistence within the framework of the inter-American system of countries with different political systems.

The struggle for the reforms, which was displaced into the sphere of ideology, could not but also touch upon the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. In the process of preparing its reform the United States tried not to allow the revision of those principles of it, which made the Latin American countries dependent militarily and politically on Washington. "We should modernize the Rio Treaty," former U. S. Secretary of State H. Kissinger declared at the 4th Session of the General Assembly of the OAS in Atlanta, "but so as to retain its principles."<sup>7</sup> In this the United States found support on the part of the right authoritarian regimes and the fascist junta of Chile.

A completely different point of view was expressed by the delegation of Peru. In particular, it proposed to supplement the treaty with an article which stipulates the prohibition of economic aggression and the creation of a mechanism of collective economic security, the functions of which would include the adoption of sanctions in response to such aggression. The proposal was approved by Panama, Mexico, Venezuela and Ecuador.

The inclusion in the protocol of reforms of the treaty (the Protocol of San Jose) of article 11 on the need to support collective economic security can be considered a success of the Latin American countries. However, at its signing at a conference in San Jose the representative of the United States made the stipulation that "the United States does not assume any obligations to conclude, sign and ratify any treaty or convention on collective economic security."<sup>8</sup>

Article 12 of the Protocol of San Jose consolidated the principle of noninterference and "the right of each state to freely choose a political, economic and social system."<sup>9</sup>

Article 20, which was approval at the insistence of the majority of Latin American countries, changed the procedure of voting at the Meeting of Consultation of Foreign Ministers. As a result, decisions adopted by a qualified majority of two-thirds of the votes, are replaced by a simple majority. The 16th Meeting of Consultation, which was convened immediately after the signing of the protocol of reforms, on the basis of this principle granted freedom to the OAS member-states in questions of the normalization of relations with Cuba.

The results of the conference at San Jose facilitated the adoption at the meeting of the Permanent Council of the OAS, which was held on 3 December 1975, of the proposal of Peru on the abolition of the Ad Hoc Consultative Commission on Questions of Security, which was set up in 1962 for the struggle against the "subversive activity of international communism."

However, as far as the essence of the concept of military security, the Rio de Janeiro Treaty did not undergo substantial changes. At the meetings of the SKRMS Peru and Panama with the support of Venezuela, Barbados and Jamaica energetically opposed the obligatory taking of joint defensive

measures in case of aggression from outside the American continent, which is contained in article 3 of it. Peru, Panama and Mexico also spoke in favor of the revision of article 6. "The concept of aggression, which is contained in article 6," it is stated in the document submitted by Peru for examination by the SKRMS, "has been expanded to such limits that it becomes applicable to any disagreement which has arisen."<sup>10</sup> However, as a result of pressure on the part of the United States, articles 3 and 6 basically retained their former content, and on the whole the treaty under the condition of a distribution of forces on the continent, which is favorable to the United States, all the same can be used by it as the instrument of its foreign policy.

The review in the SKRMS of questions connected with the revision of the Charter of the OAS also proceeded under the condition of opposition of the United States. In January 1976 the Permanent Council of the OAS approved the protocol of reforms of the charter.<sup>11</sup> Some of its principles are an unquestionable achievement of Latin American diplomacy. Thus, the protocol contains an article which stipulates the need to adhere to the principle of ideological pluralism. In the article devoted to cooperation for the purposes of development, it is stated that "this cooperation should not contain conditions imposed in a unilateral manner." In the protocol there are also articles which are devoted to collective economic security and to the creation of a mechanism of protection against economic aggression, statutes on environmental protection, the sovereignty of the member-states over their own natural resources and so on. The Permanent Council of the OAS also approved, in spite of pressure of the representative of the United States, drafts of a convention on cooperation for the purposes of development and collective economic security.<sup>12</sup>

However, owing to the position of Washington, which is trying not to allow the adoption of the prepared drafts of the reforms, the holding of special sessions of the General Assembly of the OAS, at which these drafts should be signed, still remains in question. The United States is speaking out against the attempt of Latin American countries to introduce in inter-American relations a system of collective economic security. Another reason for the serious dissatisfaction of Washington is the desire of the states of the continent to bring under control the activity of multinational monopolies and not to allow White House interference in the disputes with them. "The results of the reform were disappointing," H. Kissinger declared at the regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS, which took place in June 1976 in Santiago (Chile). "Our government will not be able either to sign the proposed draft of the charter or to recommend it for Senate ratification."<sup>13</sup>

In recent times there has been observed a decline of interest of the United States in the OAS, in which its position on many questions of a socio-economic and political nature is being criticized more and more often. The present administration of the United States has assumed the course of the development above all of bilateral relations with Latin American countries. The proposals made by C. Vance at the 7th Session of the General Assembly

of the OAS attest to the attempt by Washington to transform it into a consultative organ for the exchange of opinions between the United States and Latin America, leaving questions of fundamental importance for settlement on a bilateral basis, which makes it possible to play more successfully on the conflicts between the Latin American countries. In this connection the United States has already announced the forthcoming reduction of its financial contribution to the OAS from 60 to 49 percent of its budget.

The interest of the Latin American countries in this organization is increasing correspondingly. The failure of the "new dialog" policy, which was adopted by the United States at the beginning of 1974, had the result that a number of state figures of Latin American countries have come out for a return of discussions in the OAS, where the United States, which has one vote, theoretically can be subordinated to the will of the majority. In particular, the adoption by an overwhelming majority of votes in the Permanent Council of the OAS in January 1975 of a resolution condemning the United States for a new discriminatory trade law can serve as an example. Another example is the adoption at an extraordinary meeting of the council of a declaration which characterizes the arbitrary increase by the United States of the duties on imported sugar by 50 percent as economic aggression.

The activeness of the Latin American countries in the matter of reorganizing the inter-American system and bringing it in line with the demands of the times is increasing. Mexico, Peru, Panama and Venezuela are expressing dissatisfaction in regard to the obstructionist position taken by Washington in this respect.

Speaking at the 7th Session of the General Assembly of the OAS, Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations S. Roel Garcia singled out as favorable the following results of the process of reforms: the elaboration of legal norms which make it possible to carry out equal inter-American economic and other types of cooperation; the establishment as a political basis of the organization of the principles of ideological pluralism and the elimination of the legacy of the Cold War.<sup>14</sup>

However, the policy of the United States, which is aimed at the estrangement of the Latin American states, as well as the inconsistency of the positions of some countries of the region are preventing the genuine reorganization of the OAS. The main contradiction of the inter-American system--the contradiction between the interests of the Latin American countries and the goals of U. S. imperialism, today is already placing in doubt the further existence of the OAS in its current form.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. EL NACIONAL, 1 August 1974
2. See OAS Document, OEA/Ser. P, AG/inf. 92/77, 14 June 1977.

3. See "Octava Reunion de consulta de ministros de relaciones exteriores," Washington, 1962.
4. See OAS Document, CIES/Res. 50, August 1973.
5. INTERNATIONAL LEGAL MATERIALS, Vol XII, No 3, May 1973, p 708.
6. See OAS Document, OEA/Ser. G, CP/ACTA 115/74, January 1974.
7. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, No 1820, 1974, p 514.
8. AMERICAS, No 9, 1975, p 44.
9. Ibid., p 43.
10. EL COMERCIO, 7 July 1973.
11. See "Final Report to the Governments of the Member-States," OEA/Ser. PCEESI/doc. 26/75, rev. 1, vol XII, 20 February 1975, pp 15-26.
12. Ibid., pp 39-63.
13. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, No 1932, 1976, p 11.
14. See OAS Document, OEA/Ser. P, AG/inf. 96/77, 15 June 1977.

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## INCREASING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS IN PRESERVATION OF WORLD PEACE

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 78 signed to press 18 Jul 78 pp 9-25

[Article by T. T. Timofeyev: "The Working Class, Science and Society (Some Aspects of Research)"]

[Text] Study of the socioeconomic prerequisites of the genesis and growth of the working class, the historical sources of the workers movement and the paths, forms and trends of its coming into being and development--both nationally and regionally and on an international, global scale--has a very long history. It is inseparable from the investigation of those processes which condition the working people's increased role in the general struggle for social progress and in determining the fate of human civilization and has acquired particular relevance in the contemporary era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, when the working class and its communist vanguard has finally established itself as the leading force of world social progress.

Scientific research in the sphere of the position and struggle of the working class and investigation of various aspects of the activity of its organizations have passed through a number of consecutive historical phases in their development. Several memorable dates will be commemorated this year which on the one hand are very important from the viewpoint of the history of the working class itself and, on the other, also mark definite landmarks in the development of its self-knowledge, including landmarks in the development and extension of a truly scientific approach to problems of the history, philosophy and political economy of the working class and the shaping and theoretical substantiation of the integral system of its scientific world outlook.

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\*The author's speech at the international scientific conference "The Working Class and Social Progress" is the basis of the article.

The 160th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth was celebrated in the spring of 1978. This same year it will be 135 years since K. Marx and F. Engels created the first celebrated works on the history and economic situation of the working people's masses which laid the foundations of the teaching on the working class's world-historical mission. This year we have commemorated the 130th anniversary of the first program document of scientific socialism--"The Communist Manifesto." In June 1978 it will be the 100th anniversary of the completion of "Anti-Buehring," which not only systematically expounded the philosophical principles of revolutionary theory but also revealed the significance of all three components of the Marxist world outlook, which were analyzed in organic unity and dialectical interconnection. Study of the position of the working class and its development was and remains here the "real basis of and point of departure for" an investigation of the trends and prospects of "all social movements."<sup>1</sup>

I would also like to mention that this year the celebration of the 160th anniversary of Karl Marx's birth coincided with the preparations for a further jubilee--the 75th anniversary this summer of the Second Russian Social Democratic Workers Party Congress, which laid the foundations of Bolshevism, which has existed "as a current of political thought and as a political party" since 1903.<sup>2</sup>

The coincidence of historical dates of such importance to the development of the workers movement is highly significant. Bolshevism, as defined by Lenin, emerged on the "base of the theory of Marxism."<sup>3</sup> History entrusted to V. I. Lenin tasks of gigantic importance connected with practical application of Marx's teaching and its implementation and with the enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice. As L. I. Brezhnev observed, speaking in November 1977 on the occasion of the Marx Gold Medal being conferred on him by the USSR Academy of Sciences, it is now "more than a century that the immortal teaching of Karl Marx has served as the inexhaustible source of the strength and stanchness of the working class and all working people in the battles against the exploiters and for social and national liberation." And it is now "60 years that Marx's teaching, developed and enriched by the scientific genius and revolutionary passion of Lenin and having conquered the minds of millions, led to the victory in our country of the Great Socialist Revolution. This was the start of the creation on earth of a new world--the world of socialism.... 'Marx's teaching is omnipotent because it is right,' Vladimir Il'ich Lenin said. And he himself repeatedly emphasized that Marxism is not a fossilized dogma but a living, creative teaching drawing its strength from life and social practice."<sup>4</sup>

The history of the working class--the class which stands at the center of our era--concerns the decisive aspects of social development. The working class and the revolutionary workers movement are organically linked in their social essence and noble goals with advanced science and gravitate toward it. The successes of science, including the achievements of scientific research into the working class proper, are contributing to the working class's accomplishment of the mission entrusted to it by the entire course of history.

The workers movement is that social movement which for more than a century now has been guided by scientific analysis and a scientific approach to the determination of its tasks and the study of social policy. The colossal service of K. Marx and F. Engels consisted, in V. I. Lenin's estimation, in the fact that "they taught the working class self-knowledge and self-awareness and put science in the place of reverie."<sup>5</sup>

The connection of the working class and science is manifested most obviously primarily in production. It is easy to trace this connection throughout the recent and latest history of the working class. For, as is known, the industrial proletariat represents the creation of large-scale industry. The rational, scientific nature of industrial technology and of technological organization has been reflected from the very beginning in the development of the working class, making its mark on its social psychology and on many forms of its activeness. The industrial, scientifically organized nature of labor makes the working class the class which, in V. I. Lenin's works, "has adopted for itself all urban, industrial and big-capitalist culture and has the resolve and capacity to defend it, preserve and further develop all its conquests and make them accessible to the entire people and all working people."<sup>6</sup>

This has been manifested graphically and very eloquently in our country, particularly in the last six decades, in the years of Soviet power, when the rapprochement of the working class and science began to appear distinctly in the most visible, concrete-historical form. Today these propositions--on the proximity of the working class and culture and the working class and science--have an even more topical ring.

The connection of the working class's production activity with science appears particularly strongly under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, when science is increasingly becoming a constant factor of production. In addition, it itself is becoming a direct production force. In other words, production is acquiring a scientific nature, while vast areas of science are acquiring an industrial, science-cum-production organization in practice. "The success of the scientific-technical revolution and its salutary effect on the economy and on all aspects of the life of society," the 25th CPSU Congress emphasized, "cannot be secured by the efforts of science workers alone. The enlistment of all participants in social production in this process of historical significance is acquiring an increasingly large role."<sup>7</sup> Consequently, appreciable strata of the working class are proving to be not obliquely but directly and immediately connected with science and scientific activity. It is indicative, for example, that production and scientific-technical personnel constitutes more than 45 percent and scientific workers proper constitute less than 40 percent of research assistants of the USSR Academy of Sciences (excluding the Siberian Department).<sup>8</sup> Of all those employed in the science, education and health service of the USSR as a whole at the start of the 1970's, workers constituted (according to the 1970 census) more than 30 percent. Today approximately one-tenth of the Soviet working class is directly employed in these branches of culture.<sup>9</sup>

It is understandable that science's merger with modern production is perceived by no means solely by the workers employed directly in the system of scientific organizations. The consequences of this process are reflected in the broadest strata of the working class, contributing to an elevation of its production and general culture. By the start of the 1970's approximately one-third of the workers of Soviet industry had complete secondary or higher education, and an appreciable proportion here had higher and secondary specialized education.<sup>10</sup>

The social results of science's rapprochement with production are also distinctly manifested in the growth of inventiveness and the submission of production-efficiency proposals in the worker milieu. In just a little more than 15 years--from 1959 through 1975--the number of workers with membership of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Production-Efficiency Experts increased by a factor of 615: from 700,000 to 4.4 million. Workers currently constitute more than one-half of the membership of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Production-Efficiency Experts.<sup>11</sup> It is a significant fact that a situation wherein, together with the scientists, there are also foremost workers, whose activity combines mental and physical labor, among the people who are annually awarded top state prizes for the most outstanding scientific-technical achievements has become natural for Soviet society.

All that has been said about also enables us to claim with complete justification (as, for example, A. P. Aleksandrov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, correctly observes in his recently published book) that today scientific-technical creativity is "essentially a collective process. Scientists, engineers, workers and industrial figures of many countries co-operation or competing with one another participate therein. Intellect in this scientific-technical creativity enjoys equal rights with technical potential...."<sup>12</sup>

But it is more than just a question of the production side of matters. The objective requirements of the workers movement and the social situation of the working class as a whole determine its concern for the development of scientific learning--both in the sphere of the social and also in the sphere of the natural and technical sciences.

The significance of scientific research, including research in the sphere of the social sciences, is growing increasingly in Soviet society. The conscious, plan-oriented control of social processes can only be successful in the event of it being of a scientifically substantiated nature. The complication of social life here is engendering a constant increase in the role of the social sciences and of scientific substantiation in the adoption of the most important political decisions. "The need for the further creative elaboration of theory is not diminishing but, on the contrary, becoming increasingly great at the present stage of the country's development." L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the report at the 25th CPSU Congress.<sup>13</sup>

Further, it should be mentioned that the working class's concern for a scientific cognition of the trends and prospects of social development is not only manifested in our country at the level of production and management. In the socialist society, which is controlled in a conscious and plan-oriented manner, an active interest in various sciences--both technical and socio-political--has also become a personality trait of many workers. It is sufficient to say that more than 50 million people, including those who are raising the level of their erudition in the sphere of technical, socio-economic and other sciences, are covered by various forms of a combination of work and study.

As can be seen, the precept of V. I. Lenin, the founder of our state, who specially emphasized the need to insure that "science really enter the flesh and blood and become a component part of everyday life properly and in full,"<sup>14</sup> has been realized in the modern Soviet society. A scientific approach to the life of nature and society, a scientific world outlook and a scientifically substantiated, rational composition of a system of norms and values constitute an organic part of the socialist way of life and a characteristic feature of the "new type of civilization"<sup>15</sup> being created by the working class.

The scientific substantiation of political decisions presupposes as its basis a thorough study of the working class itself and of its history, structure, composition, mentality and so forth. As V. I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out, "there is no more important task for conscious workers than that of /getting to know/ [these and subsequent words in slantlines in italics] the movement of their class, its essence, its goals and tasks and its conditions and practical forms."<sup>16</sup>

An aspiration to a scientific analysis of the development of the working class was displayed sufficiently distinctly back in the early stages of the history of the organized workers movement. It is recalled that at the very first congress of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) in September 1866 the report of the General Council prepared by K. Marx emphasized the tremendous significance there could be in a /"statistical survey of the situation of the working class in all countries conducted by the working class itself."/ <sup>17</sup>

It is natural that an orientation toward its truly scientific self-knowledge appears even more fully under conditions wherein the working class takes power and stands at the helm of state administration.

Despite the devastation and difficulties engendered by the consequences of World War I and the civil war, the practical implementation of a number of measures aimed at a comprehensive analysis of the main social processes determining the development of the working class and the whole of society began from the first years of Soviet power. Whereas only one population census had been conducted in tsarist Russia--in 1897--three censuses were actually organized in just the first decade of Soviet power.

An aspiration to a scientific substantiation of decisions in the sphere of social policy and other spheres also gave rise in the Soviet country to an increase in the interest in study of the social psychology of the working class. The principles of a scientific approach to such research had been substantiated in the works of V. I. Lenin. For example, studying the changes in the mood of the worker masses in the first years after the revolution, V. I. Lenin analyzed data for 1919 and pointed to the start of a fundamental change in the consciousness of various strata of workers characteristic of that time. In particular, he described forms in his work "Velikiy pochin" [Great Beginning] which embodied the turnabout in the mass mentality and its role in the development of the working class's social-political activeness.

Soviet research assistants in our day aspire to continue and extend these traditions of study of the working class, viewing its development--with consideration of all the particular features of the concrete-historical situation of different years and possible national-specific modifications--as a process unified in its main regularities.

The long tradition of study of the working class in Soviet social science had led to the extensive development of historiographical research in this sphere. Recent years alone have seen the appearance of fundamental historiographical works by I. Ye. Vorozheykin, V. A. Yezhov, M. A. Zaborov, V. I. Kas'yanenko, V. S. Lel'chuk, V. Ye. Poletayev, B. I. Rasputnis and S. L. Senyavskiy which contain an analysis of the most important works of Soviet authors devoted to the working class.<sup>18</sup>

For this reason we will confine ourselves to a description of just some of the problems of study of the contemporary working class connected mainly with questions of its development under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. We will concentrate attention here on the principal features of the "movement of science," primarily on those which, in our opinion, determine the general prospects of further study of the working class by our country's research assistants.

It is primarily necessary to mention in this connection a definite procedural-methodological trend ensuing from Soviet research assistants' growing interest in an analysis both of the effect of the scientific-technical revolution on the working class and on the role of the working class in the unfolding of the scientific-technical revolution. The correlation and interaction of the scientific-technical revolution and the working class is of a complex, manifold nature. All the aspects of this correlation cannot be entirely embraced within the framework of the traditional division of scientific disciplines. A solely historical or solely economic or solely sociological analysis could prove inadequate. The interdisciplinary approach providing for the possibility of a really comprehensive study of social processes is becoming an essential prerequisite of the revelation of the main regularities of the development of the working class under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution.

It is in order, therefore, that comprehensive social research has constituted in the last decade a principal direction of study of the working class in Soviet social science. The subject-matter of such research is extremely diverse. In this period the scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement alone have studied on the basis of comprehensive social research the way of life, everyday life, and well-being of the workers of a typical industrial center—the city of Taganrog; the attitude of industrial workers toward automation and its effect on work conditions; and the life paths and start of the labor biography of young workers with secondary education. In the same period scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology studied the changes in the skills and labor activeness of workers of the city of Gor'kiy; Leningrad research assistants studied changes in the structure of skilled workers and new phenomena in the attitude toward labor; and Ural research assistants studied the culture and social activeness of the working class.

But despite all the diversity of subject-matter, features of comprehensiveness are typical of the above-mentioned and many other studies, and they are characterized by an interdisciplinary approach. In each of them the socio-logical technology of the collection of material and the construction of hypotheses was closely linked with a general economic analysis, and, given all this, it was possible to take the concrete-historical circumstances of place and time more fully into account; the authors' collective of each of them included, accordingly, economists, sociologists and historians.

The comprehensive nature of such studies continues to intensify. The trend toward conducting repeat research at facilities which were comprehensively studied 10-15 years previously, which afford an opportunity of obtaining both socioeconomic and socio-psychological and also socio-historical material making it possible to trace in far greater depth than in the past the dynamics of the effect of the scientific-technical revolution on the working class, is extremely significant in this connection.

Here there is an appreciable broadening of the programs in practically all the repeat studies such that each of them now makes a study of both labor and extraproduction, day-to-day, aspects of the workers' lives. There is an appreciable increase in the comparability of comprehensive research as a result.

Available experience testifies that the comparability of a comprehensive scientific study of the working class may be increased by yet another path—its extension to international dimensions. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement, for example, has completed an international study of the social consequences of automation and is conducting international research into the life paths of young workers. Comprehensiveness here rises, as it were, to a new level, on which the international comparison of the general and the particular and the international and the national opens additional opportunities for revealing

important regularities of the working class's social development under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution. Undoubtedly, diverse types of comprehensive international research projects could become an important form of study of the working class in the foreseeable future.

Analysis of the problems of the working class's development under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution is being coupled increasingly closely with direct study of the scientific-technical revolution and the social processes proceeding in the developed socialist society as a whole. It is indicative that the special problems of the working class occupy a large place in philosophical, economic and even scientific historical works devoted to the scientific-technical revolution.<sup>19</sup> As far as the general theoretical works of our social scientists devoted to developed socialism are concerned, in the majority of cases they devote almost the main attention to the working class.<sup>20</sup> It is no less significant, on the other hand, that studies on the contemporary working class examine in detail many aspects of the scientific-technical revolution.

As can be seen, the aspiration to a comprehensive approach is manifested not only within the framework of study of the working class itself but also in the correlation of this research with other scientific disciplines; the comprehensive analysis here merges, as it were, with the integratory trend characteristic of modern science in general.

Together with the broadening of interdisciplinary research the comprehensiveness of study of the working class on the methodological, general-scientific level is secured by the undoubted increase in the interest in a generalized analysis of its history and development over long periods. Such a generalizing analysis was embodied in the multivolume publication "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii" [The International Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory]. It examines the history of the workers movement in unity with the objective social history of the working class itself, the subject of this movement and creator of the new social system, while the history of the working class and its struggle is illustrated as a fundamentally unified social and political process. The development of the working class under socialism appears here as a definite stage of the general progress of the working class qualitatively distinct from preceding stages and at the same time logically maturing on the basis of the latter.

As a whole, all the above-mentioned features of study of the problems of the contemporary Soviet working class under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution such as the broadening of comprehensive social research, activization of interdisciplinary links and the development of the generalizing analysis permit us to hope to obtain valuable scientific results. The justification for such hope is confirmed by the first results of studies published in a number of books which have appeared in recent years.<sup>21</sup>

The above-mentioned studies show that the impact of the scientific-technical revolution on the working class in the mature socialist society is leading to a further buildup of its forces and capacity for historic creativity. The unfolding of the scientific-technical revolution has led primarily to a quantitative growth of the Soviet working class, which has also undergone certain qualitative changes. There has been an increase in the role of the working class as the main production force, its general and production culture has risen, and there has been a marked rise in the level of skills.

These works give concrete expression to the process of how, in L. I. Brezhnev's words, "under the conditions of developed socialism and under the influence of the scientific-technical revolution there matures a workers of a new type directly employed in production whose activity increasingly harmoniously combines physical and mental labor."<sup>22</sup>

A natural continuation of the studies on the changes in the composition and objective social development of the working class is the study of the growth of the working class's labor and social activeness which is occurring on this basis. An analysis of new phenomena in the workers' attitude toward labor, which shows that the value of creative labor in the series of motives determining the workers' behavior increases sharply in the course of an upgrading of culture and the complication of production activity, is of very great interest in this connection. According to the data of special studies, the values of creativity and "interesting work" occupy in the attitude toward work of a considerable proportion of workers no less a place than wages and an awareness of public or family duty.<sup>23</sup>

At the same time there is a change under the conditions of socialism under the influence of the scientific-technical revolution not only in the attitude toward labor but also--and this is even more important--in the real labor activeness of the working class. It is sufficient to say that in the period 1965-1977 alone the labor productivity of the Soviet working class increased by a factor of 1.5-2.<sup>24-25</sup>

While drawing attention to the progressive impact of the scientific-technical revolution Soviet research assistants realize that this process, like any process in society, proceeds via the surmounting of certain contradictions. Such contradictions can be resolved in a conscious and plan-oriented manner in Soviet society. For this reason scientists are giving them their undivided attention, having in mind primarily a search for paths whereby they might be most successfully surmounted in a social sense.

It should be emphasized in this connection that a characteristic feature and important result of study of the contemporary Soviet working class is the orientation of a considerable part of the research in this sphere toward problems of social planning.<sup>26</sup> The integratory trends of science rise to a higher level here, not only combining various branches of science with

one another and thereby insuring an increase in theoretical knowledge but also linking science with practice and with the direct and immediate solution of social tasks.

Globally, study of the processes determining the role of the working class in social development is undertaken on the basis of vaster and more diverse material.

The development of the science of the working class is now passing through a stage which is characterized to a considerable extent by the transition from predominantly analytical works to synthetic studies and from an analysis of comparatively particular topics, albeit frequently important ones, to the revelation of general problems of the history of the workers movement and its seminal trends and regularities. A direction which, relatively speaking, could be termed generalizing has revealed itself as a promising line of study of the history of the workers movement. There is now an urgent need for works answering many important, fundamental questions of the development of the working class and not only in this or the other of its concrete-historical phases and not only in this or the other country but also as a prolonged (for the time of its existence) phenomenon and a process which is dialectical and international in nature. There has been an increase in the significance of major, generalizing and summarizing works revealing the processes, at times dissimilar in outward manifestations, but unified in essence, which mark the experience of the struggle of the working class. It is thus a question of works which in summing up the results of the working people's struggle would bring together in one various components of the development of the workers movement and illuminate its past also from the aspect of the problems confronting it in the present century.

This requirement has led to the point where historical-theoretical works of precisely the generalizing type have come to be created. The scientific concept of the multivolume study "The International Workers Movement (Questions of History and Theory)" was, in particular, developed on the basis of this approach. At the present time three volumes of this generalizing work have appeared,<sup>27</sup> and preparations for the publication of subsequent volumes are underway.

The efforts of a large group of scientists are directed toward the concentrated, synthetic, in-depth and comprehensive study of the history of the socioeconomic, political and spiritual development of the working class and of its reaching maturity and becoming the leading factor of social progress and revelation of the principal regularities of this process on the basis of a generalization of the entire manifold experience of this struggle.

In elaborating the scientific concept of this multivolume work the authors' collective and the Main Editorial Commission headed by Academician B. N. Ponomarev took into consideration the need for an in-depth analysis of the development of the international workers movement as the history of a grim struggle and strenuous quest for means and methods of assertion and forms

of a socially just social arrangement fundamentally different from those which had prevailed hitherto. It was seen as important to trace how exactly mankind's socioeconomic and spiritual progress is connected with the coming into being and elevation of the working class and with the successes of the movement to which it gave birth; and to explain by virtue of what reasons the struggle of the working class and its allies was and remains the main driving force of social transformations providing for the advancement of all human civilization.

In the diverse stream of concrete historical facts the most important of them were separated off and classified by type for this purpose. The search for solutions here was conducted on the base of a vast amount of scientifically authentic documentary material. It is a question here of the intensified study and generalization of the colossal practical and spiritual experience of the history of the workers movement over a long period--from the time of the first demonstrations of the manufactory proletariat and the first bourgeois revolutions of the 16th-18th century (in which it took an active, although spontaneous, part) to the time when the working class in many countries becomes the leading social class and operates in the historical arena as a conscious, organized force.

Various aspects of the working class's socio-historical activity over an impressive period of time were the subject of study on many levels in this research work; the experience of the working class acquired proportionate to its swift development was analyzed more intensively here.

The workers movement is further viewed as the sum of various forms of the activeness of the working class objectively geared toward struggle against exploitation and its complete liberation. And, moreover, the workers movement becomes international with the corresponding degree of internationalization of the production forces.

Insofar as the world workers movement is by nature a complex phenomenon a systemic approach to study thereof is essential. Just such an approach has been employed by the authors of these volumes, who aspire to combine the principles of a historico-chronological analysis and problem-solving-theoretical synthesis, which makes it possible to trace the development of the class struggle of the proletariat both at different stages of it as a whole and at the same time to define its distinctive forms at each of them.

Thanks to this, there was a successful attempt to portray sufficiently fully, together with the political history of the proletariat and its organizations, the social history of the working class and its liberation struggle.

Study of the different stages of the social evolution of the working class which accompanied the changes in its numbers and in its sectorial and skills structure and the changes in the economic situation and in its socio-psychological makeup enables us to reveal the characteristic features and continuity of the stages of the development of the workers movement.

As a result the working class and the workers movement are presented in a naturally conditioned socio-historical movement, which led to their becoming the decisive factor of social progress. The transition from purely economic forms to independent political struggle and from spontaneity to consciousness, for example, fall into the category of stages of this growth. The conclusion that the working class's intellectual development is a most important aspect of the process of its elevation is also connected with this. For this reason a prominent place in our research work is occupied by study of the development of the workers' social consciousness in different historical phases: initially in the form of utopian views, subsequently, after the emergence of Marxism, in the form of its combination with the workers movement and, later, in connection with the activity of the mass political workers parties and the struggle of different currents in their ranks.

The above-mentioned study is constructed on the basis of a global coverage of the history of the workers movement, going beyond the limits of the "traditional" framework of many regional geographical works. Such a broad-scale approach leads to the highlighting of the stages of growth of both the working class itself and of its activeness--socioeconomic, political and spiritual--on all continents which do not always coincide in time and in specific characteristics but which are repeated, as a whole, in this historical context or the other.

As a whole, in our day we can speak of the further fruitful development of scientific research on the working class. The new transactions, publications and works of Marxist scholars serve as further testimony to this. Success here is also largely predetermined by the extent to which the investigators of the workers movement take account of a number of methodologically important principles and propositions.

These include, together with other principles of the dialectical, scientific cognition of social phenomena, the principle of historical method. This applies both to an analysis of the problems of world social progress as a whole and to the study of the role proper therein of the working class in different historical epochs; and to revelation of the consequences of technical revolutions in different phases of the capitalist production method and trends in the development of both militarism and the anti-imperialist movements. It also applies to such problems, for example, as explanation on the one hand of the degree of influence in the history of capitalism of military preparations on the economic situation and, on the other, of the dialectics of the interaction of the struggle for peace--with the further development in breadth and in depth of the mass progressive movements, including primarily the workers and national liberation movements.

Observance of the principle of historical method entails positive results in the study of similar social movements, and, on the other hand, a departure from this principle may lead to incorrect, one-sided evaluations and to scientifically unsubstantiated conclusions.

To turn, for example, to the question of the correlation of scientific-technical and social progress in the modern revolutionary era.

Various, frequently diametrically opposite trends are encountered in an interpretation of this problem. Some authors in the West are frequently inclined to exaggerate the independent positive significance of the development of science and technology, interpreting their consequences in an oversimplified manner. Others, on the other hand, either belittle them or wrongly counterpose them to the main regularities of world-historical social progress as a whole. This is also reflected in this evaluation or the other of the trends and prospects of the workers movement, the extent of exacerbation of class contradictions and the development of the sociopolitical struggle in general. Whence the latest "refutations" of the Marxist concept of class struggle (which M. Thatcher,<sup>28</sup> leader of the British Tories, in particular, deemed it necessary to deliver once again on the eve of the 160th anniversary of K. Marx's birth); and the myths propagandized by the French "new philosophers" (Levy, Gluecksman and others) denying the active role of the working people's masses in history and, what is more, declaring the very concept of the working class "the biggest invention of Marxism" (?!). The disciples of "post-industrialism" (D. Bell)<sup>29</sup> and the "technotronic era" (Z. Brzezinski)<sup>30</sup> and other American authors campaigning for the creation of a "new ideology" and "new" theories of a technocratic bent<sup>31</sup> interpret in their own fashion the problem of the interaction of the production forces and the development of social movements. They attempt to prove, as a rule, that progressive social movements, primarily the struggle of the working people's masses, are "redundant" in an age of electronic and nuclear technology and under the conditions of the "technotronic revolution"....

As a counterweight to a dialectical approach to an analysis of social phenomena, the adherents to such concepts frequently interpret changes in society in a mechanistic and oversimplified manner, deducing them directly and even, so to speak, "automatically" from scientific-technical innovations. And the main point is that they portray matters such that the scientific-technical revolution "does away with" the need for the working people's active struggle for social transformations.<sup>32</sup>

Their highly original interpretation of the crisis phenomena in capitalist society is linked with this. On the one hand there are few people even in the Western countries who could now deny the protracted nature of the crisis processes in the economic, political and ideological life of these countries. None other than Z. Brzezinski, for example, has acknowledged that "sentiments which recall the pessimistic views concerning the 'decline of the West' are currently very popular in the said states."<sup>33</sup> At the same time the same Brzezinski expresses disagreement with the Marxist theory of the general crisis of capitalism.

True, such authors cannot remain entirely silent about facts attesting an exacerbation of the economic and sociopolitical contradictions in the

countries of the world capitalist system. But they are not always willing to recognize the irreversibility of the fundamental shifts in the global correlation of class forces and the profound, universal nature of the crisis phenomena spreading in the depths of capitalism.

At the same time lamentations of a different kind on this theme can be encountered in the West. In particular, certain authors of the "left-radical," Trotskyist type interpret both the preconditions and consequences of the exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism in a vulgar-mechanistic plane in arguing about the latter. They frequently proceed from notions of some "automatic collapse" of imperialism and metaphysically interpret the correlation of the crisis and wars, militarism and the economic situation and questions of the impact and interconnection of these phenomena with the development of the mass workers movement.

Yet increasingly new facts testify to the justification of the Marxists' conclusions and evaluations on questions connected with a general characterization of the crisis of world capitalism and with the assessment of certain distinctive features of its manifestation at different concrete-historical stages. This also applies to a study of its various aspects and to the conclusions which ensue from a comprehensive analysis of the crisis processes themselves and their consequences for the working class and for the policy of its organizations. The above problems have, as is known, been thoroughly examined in documents of the CPSU and the international communist movement.

Accuracy in theoretical-methodological questions is particularly important in this connection. The works prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, including the two-volume monograph "Politicheskaya ekonomiya sovremennoego monopolisticheskogo kapitalizma" [The Political Economy of Modern Monopoly Capitalism], the collective work of the same institute "Uglubleniye obshchego krizisa kapitalizma" [Intensification of the General Crisis of Capitalism] and others, may serve as an example thereof.

The achievements of creative Marxist-Leninist thought in the sphere of scientific substantiation of the concept of the general crisis of capitalism, the division of its principal stages into periods and an analysis of its preconditions and the characteristic features of each of these stages are common knowledge.

However, attempts are still being made to "revise" them. Thus certain authors in West Europe are at times inclined to belittle the actual strength and significance of the socialist system and its impact on the course of world events in general and on processes within the capitalist world in particular. Such a trend is typical, in particular, of the position of individual participants in a recent debate devoted to a discussion of the "draft of a socialist alternative" of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI). It is well known that although they continue to solemnly state" the relevance

of Marxism and its fundamental significance for the contemporary workers movement," certain PSI figures in practice insist increasingly often on "a revision of many propositions of Marxist teaching," asserting the alleged impossibility of "defending its justifiability." This also applies to a certain extent to their views on the crisis of capitalism, where they display an incorrect evaluation of the most important international factors contributing to its intensification. It is not fortuitous that such standpoints are being criticized in Italy itself in the course of the debate. "Among the causes of the crisis in the capitalist world," G. Chiaramonte, for example, observes, not without justification, in this connection, "there is no indication in the socialists' draft of the factor to which we have pointed many times and which we consider the main factor. We are speaking of the historical process which began with the October Revolution and which developed with the victory over fascism in World War II, a process which has strengthened in recent decades...."<sup>34</sup>

Indeed, the social processes in the modern world, including those in the capitalist countries, cannot be viewed in isolation from the development of the main social contradictions of our era. At the same time it is also impossible to agree with those who in interpreting the theory of the general crisis of capitalism in a doctrinaire fashion take insufficiently into account the distinctive features of the contemporary stage of its intensification and incorrectly dispute the fact of considerable importance that its distinguishing peculiarity is that it arose without it being connected with world wars.<sup>35</sup> With complete justification the documents of the 25th CPSU Congress note the unusual nature of the present capitalist crisis, which has imbibed many contradictions of the world capitalist system. By its very existence and its policy real socialism is having an effect on capitalism, constricting its possibilities of finding means to ease the consequences of the crisis on the paths of a new world war.

This also predetermines to a considerable extent a number of distinctive peculiarities of the contemporary stage of the exacerbation of the crisis of world capitalism.

In this case it is impossible to ignore such a factor indisputably increasing the economic difficulties, aggravating the fundamental contradictions of bourgeois society and leading to a rise in inflation and, as a whole, to the internal instability of the capitalist economy as militarism and the arms race and their socioeconomic and other consequences.

Military preparations and wars have always put a heavy burden primarily on the shoulders of the working people, entailing the colossal squandering of public wealth. In addition, the arms race has created and continues to create in our era an unprecedented threat to all mankind.

It is not fortuitous that the workers movement has always paid great attention to these questions and their theoretical and practical, including socioeconomic, political, moral-psychological and other, aspects.

The course of world development convincingly confirms the permanent significance of the Marxists' conclusion concerning the increase in the role of the working class as the leading force in the struggle against the arms race and for peace and social progress. The dimensions of the constructive activity of the working class in the socialist countries have increased. There has been an intensification of the effect of the working class and its organizations on various spheres of public life in the capitalist and developing states.

All this imparts special significance to the study on the one hand of the historical experience accumulated by the working class and its organizations in the process of coming-to-be and assertion as an independent and influential sociopolitical force and, on the other, of the specific conditions under which it is currently accomplishing its world-historical mission. The working class has not only grown quantitatively but has also undergone considerable qualitative changes.

The economic, social and spiritual progress of mankind that has been achieved as of the present is inseparably connected with the elevation and growth of the working class and the mass movement to which it has given birth.

In struggling for its own liberation the working class is thereby struggling for the liberation of all mankind. This is manifested in its formulation of goals of which the advancement to the foreground of the most important general democratic problems is characteristic. The leading place among these has always been and continues to be occupied by the problem of the transformation of international relations through the expulsion of wars from the life of human society.

The organic connection between the interests of the working people and the nature of their impact on world politics was revealed by K. Marx back in the Founding Manifesto of the International Workingmen's Association more than 100 years ago. This document contained the historic appeal to the working class to "master the secrets of international politics" and "strive to insure that the simple laws of morality and justice by which individuals should be guided in their mutual relations become the highest laws in relations between peoples also."<sup>36</sup>

When K. Marx wrote these words he was expressing merely a hope underpinned by barely discerned trends of social development. Today the capacity of the working class to influence social-political development has increased many times over. Its vanguard has put forward and is successfully implementing a practical action program whose realization corresponds to the vital interests of the peoples and all peace-loving forces. What has been done undoubtedly makes the threat of war more distant. But it would be wrong to close our eyes to the fact that such a threat has far from been eliminated. Enormous arsenals of weapons possessing gigantic destructive power have been built up in the modern world, and the richness

of the weaponry is not diminishing here but growing increasingly. Individual positive steps in the sphere of limiting the production of certain types of weapons are being covered over in the West by new paroxysms of the arms race.

As a number of UN documents (including the materials of the speical session of its General Assembly on disarmament) correctly emphasizes, the arms race is creating serious obstacles on the path of economic and social progress insofar as it is leading to the senseless squandering of vast capital, material values and human labor. It is hindering the strengthening of trust in relations between states, thereby undermining the efforts aimed at the development of mutual understanding and cooperation. It is preventing the peaceful solution of international conflicts and contributing to the outbreak of new ones. But what is most dangerous is that the monstrous arsenals of means of mass destruction which have already been created as a result of this arms race inevitably entail the risk not only of the intentional but also of the accidental use of nuclear missile weapons; the further buildup of these arsenals greatly increases this danger.

The working class and its organizations made an enormous contribution to the struggle against the military danger in the past. They played an important role in the creation of the conditions which contributed to the turnaround from the "cold war" to the relaxation of international tension which occurred in the 1960's-1970's. They are called upon to actively promote a halt to the buildup of means of mutual destruction and the supplementing of political relaxation with military relaxation.

The working class is vitally interested in such a development. Primarily because the working people in the capitalist countries are suffering from the military expenditure, which is engendering inflation, price rises and a rundown in the system of social services. Moreover, it is precisely the working class which holds important levers of influencing decision-making in this sphere. The most intricate equipment constitutes the basis of modern armaments. The most diverse sectors of industry are involved in its production. Ultimately this equipment, without which a modern war is impossible, is produced by workers contributing their labor, knowledge, ability and skill. An activization of the working people's efforts in this sphere could obstruct military production.

A particularly important role in the solution of these questions belongs to the communist parties, which advocate relaxation in the military sphere, propose the adoption of concrete disarmament measures and are striving for universal and complete disarmament under strict international supervision, cessation of the nuclear arms race, the banning of all tests of nuclear weapons in all environments, the creation of nuclear-free zones and so forth.

The CPSU and the Soviet Government have presented a wide-ranging comprehensive program of a complete halt to the further quantitative and qualitative growth of armaments and the armed forces of states with major military potential. In view of the fact that the threat of a world war with the employment of nuclear weapons represents a particular danger to mankind the problem of nuclear disarmament is of paramount importance. The USSR has repeatedly submitted proposals on a simultaneous halt to the production of all types of nuclear weapons by all states and on a gradual reduction of their stockpiles to the point of their complete liquidation. The Soviet Union has proposed that an agreement be reached on a halt to the production of all other types of weapon of mass destruction and on a halt to the creation of new types of conventional armaments of great destructive power. The program which it has put forward provides for a renunciation of the enlargement of the armies and an increase in the conventional armaments of the powers which are permanent members of the Security Council and also of the countries linked with them by military agreements. Expressing the will of the entire working class, the Soviet Union also advocates measures of a regional nature aimed at the exclusion of the arms race in definite regions of the globe.

Much can be done by the social democratic movement and its organizations in advancing the cause of disarmament. In certain recent documents the Socialist International expressed itself in favor of military relaxation, the institution of the monitoring of armaments and in favor of disarmament. These documents contain an appeal for a halt to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the banning of nuclear tests and the creation of nuclear-free zones. Considerable interest was stirred by the sessions of the disarmament conference convened by the Socialist International in Helsinki in April 1978. Certain social democratic party figures presented interesting proposals and initiatives in the disarmament sphere. The activists of many socialist parties are participating in the current mass movements and in the work of various study groups and are speaking in defense of peace and for the cessation of the arms race.

This opens additional opportunities for joint efforts and the spread of co-operation of the working people and their various organizations in the study and solution of the problems of halting the growth of armaments.

Recognizing its huge responsibility for disarmament in the struggle to save mankind from the threat of nuclear war, the CPSU has displayed a whole series of important initiatives to institute cooperation and interaction between communists and social democrats in the business of military relaxation. Participating in the Helsinki disarmament conference, our party submitted a number of practical proposals aimed at the development of such interaction. A representative delegation of the Socialist International was invited to Moscow for discussion at the highest level of the problems of a halt to the arms race and of disarmament measures. The question was raised there of the development on a permanent basis of contacts between the communist and

social democratic parties for an exchange of information and the coordination of joint actions on disarmament questions. This could promote the surmounting of as yet uneradicated prejudices, mistrust and alienation and a better understanding of one another's intentions.

There is a great significance in this connection in comprehensive study of the profound social processes contributing to the cohesion around the working class and its conscious vanguard of all progressive, peace-loving forces. A number of studies and scientific works is devoted to problems of the social and political alliances of the revolutionary workers movement and an analysis of the objective and subjective factors which effect the working people, the extent and level of their cohesion and the trends and prospects of their joint actions--both nationally and internationally.

In our day "the workers movement is becoming an increasingly important factor of social progress. At the same time its responsibility before history is growing increasingly. And from this there follows the need for a further strengthening of the unity of the world army of labor--unity in the struggle for social progress and in the struggle for peace and the security of the peoples."<sup>37</sup>

The working class is marching in the vanguard of the progress of all mankind. Its leading social-historical role has been graphically manifested and continues to be reflected in all the main streams and principal directions of the world revolutionary process: in the seething revolutionary-constructive activity in the socialist world and in the strenuous battles against the monopolies which are being waged under the leadership of the proletariat and its foremost organizations in the countries of state-monopoly capitalism; in the working people's struggle in the national liberation zone against neo-colonialism and against all kinds of dependence on imperialism; and in the colossal sweep of revolutionary international solidarity, which is increasing many times over the strength and possibilities of the working class--the main driving force of all world social progress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 2, p 238.
2. See V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 41, p 6.
3. See *ibid.*, p 7.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskij kursom" [Following Lenin's Course], vol 6, Moscow, 1978, pp 614-615.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 2, p 6.
6. *Ibid.*, vol 38, p 387.

7. "Materialy XXV s'ezda KPSS" [Material of the 25th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1976, p 48.
8. I. S. Puchkov, G. A. Popov, "Sotsial'no-demograficheskaya kharakteristika nauchnykh kadrov" [Socio-Demographic Description of Science Personnel], Moscow, 1976, p 14.
9. "Itogi Vsesoyuznoy perepisi naseleniya 1970" [Results of the 1970 All-Union Population Census], vol V, Moscow, 1973, p 194.
10. See "Sotsial'noye razvitiye rabochego klassa SSSR" [Social Development of the USSR Working Class], Moscow, 1977, p 124.
11. A. M. Katsva, "Proizvodstvennaya aktivnost' sovetskogo rabochego klassa v usloviyah razvitiya sotsializma" [Production Activeness of the Soviet Working Class Under the Conditions of Developed Socialism], Moscow, 1977, p 19.
12. A. P. Aleksandrov, "Atomnaya energetika i nauchno-tehnicheskiy progress" [Nuclear Power Engineering and Scientific-Technical Progress], Moscow, Nauka, 1978, p 75.
13. "Material of the 25th CPSU Congress," p 72.
14. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 45, p 391.
15. L. I. Brezhnev, "Velikiy Oktyabr' i progress chelovechestva" [The Great October and the Progress of Mankind], Moscow, 1977, p 5.
16. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 25, p 244.
17. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 16, p 195.
18. See "Voprosy istoriografii rabochego klassa SSSR" [Questions of the Historiography of the USSR Working Class], Moscow 1970, I. Ye. Vorozheykin, "Ocherk istoriografii rabochego klassa SSSR" [Outline of the Historiography of the USSR Working Class], Moscow, 1975; i. Ye. Vorozheykin, S. L. Senyavskiy, "Rabochiy klass--vedushchaya sila sovetskogo obshchestva (Voprosy metodologii i istoriografii)" [The Working Class--Leading Force of Soviet Society (Questions of Methodology and Historiography)], Moscow, 1977; and "Razvityy sotsializm: istoriografiya i metodologiya problemy" [Developed Socialism: Historiography and Methodology of the Problem], Moscow, 1976; V. A. Yezhov, V. A. Osvyankin, "Study of the Working Class of Developed Socialism in the Period Between the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses" in the book "Rabochiy klass SSSR na sovremennom etape" [The USSR Working Class at the Current Stage], ed. 4, Leningrad, 1976; B. I. Rasputnis, "Sovetskaya istoriografiya sovremennoy rabochego dvizheniya" [Soviet Historiography of the Contemporary Workers Movement], L'vov, 1976; and others.

19. See, for example: "Chelovek-nauka-tehnika. Opyt marksistskogo analiza nauchno-tehnicheskoy revolyutsii" [Man-Nature-Technology. Experience of a Marxist Analysis of the Scientific-Technical Revolution], Moscow, 1973; and "Partiya i sovremennaya nauchno-tehnicheskaya revolyutsiya v SSSR" [The Party and the Contemporary Scientific-Technical Revolution in the USSR], Moscow, 1974.
20. See P. I. Kosolapov, "Sotsializm: k voprosam teorii" [Socialism: On Questions of Theory], Moscow, 1975; "Marksistsko-leninskoye ucheniye o sotsializme i sovremenности" [Marxist-Leninist Teaching on Socialism and the Present Day], Moscow, 1975; "Razvitoje sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva: sushchnost', kriterii zrelosti, kritika revizionistskikh kontseptsiy" [The Developed Socialist Society: Essence, Criteria of Maturity, Criticism of Revisionist Concepts], Moscow, 1975; "Sotsialisticheskoye obshchestvo. Sotsial'no-filosofskiye problemy sovremennoego sovetskogo obshchestva" [The Socialist Society. Socio-Philosophical Problems of Contemporary Soviet Society], Moscow, 1975; "Sotsial'naya struktura razvitetogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Social Structure of the Developed Socialist Society], Moscow, 1976; and "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy istorii razvitetogo sotsializma v SSSR" [Socioeconomic Problems of the History of Developed Socialism in the USSR], Moscow, 1976.
21. We would mention certain collective works of recent years reflecting the results of the activity of whole scientific collectives: "Sotsial'-noye razvitiye rabochego klassa SSSR. Istoriko-sotsiologicheskiye ocherki" [Social Development of the USSR Working Class. Historical-Sociological Outlines], Moscow, 1977; "Rabochiy klass SSSR i ego vedushchaya rol' v stroitel'stve kommunizma" [The USSR Working Class and its Leading Role in the Building of Communism], Moscow, 1975; "Rabochiy klass razvitetogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The Working Class of the Developed Socialist Society], Moscow, 1974; and "Rabochiy klass SSSR na sovremennom etape" [The USSR Working Class at the Current Stage], ed. 1-5, Leningrad, 1968-1975.
22. L. I. Brezhnev, "Historic Boundary on the Path Toward Communism," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 12, 1977.
23. See "Chelovek i ego rabota" [Man and his Work], Moscow, 1967.
- 24-25. "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR za 60 let" [The USSR National Economy Over 60 Years], p 19.
26. See "Planirovaniye sotsial'nogo razvitiya" [The Planning of Social Development], Moscow, 1976; "Kompleksnoye planirovaniye ekonomicheskogo i sotsial'nogo planirovaniya Leningrada i Leningradskoy oblasti" [Comprehensive Planning of the Economic and Social Planning of Leningrad and Leningradskaya Oblast], Leningrad, 1974; and N. I. Lapin,

E. M. Korzheva, N. F. Naumova, "Teoriya i praktika sotsial'nogo planirovaniya" [Theory and Practice of Social Planning], Moscow, 1975.

27. These volumes, prepared by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement, cover the development of the world workers movement from its origin to the 1917 Great October Revolution. See "Mezhdunarodnoye rabocheye dvizheniye. Voprosy istorii i teorii" [The International Workers Movement. Questions of History and Theory]; vol I. Vozniknoveniye proletariata i ego stanovleniye kak revolyutsionnoy klassa" [The Emergence of the Proletariat and its Coming Into Being as the Revolutionary Class], Moscow, Mysl', 1976, 668 pages; vol II. "Rabocheye dvizheniye v period perekhoda k imperializmu" [The Workers Movement in the Period of the Transition to Imperialism], Moscow, 1976, 654 pages; and vol III. "Nachalo revolyutsionnykh bitv XX veka" [Start of the Revolutionary Battles of the 20th Century], Moscow, 1978, 701 pages.
28. Thus, addressing figures of West Europe's rightwing parties at the end of April 1978, Margaret Thatcher, preaching "Euroconservatism" and expatiating on the theme of the "threat on the part of Marxism," paid special attention to attacks on the "Marxist proposition that class differences in society serve as natural grounds for political activity, (MORNING STAR, 25 April 1978 and 20 May 1978).
29. D. Bell, "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Forecasting," New York, 1973.
30. Z. Brzezinski, "Between Two Ages. America's Role in the Technotronic Era," New York, 1970.
31. G. C. Lodge, "The New American Ideology," New York, 1977.
32. A discursive critical analysis of such interpretations of the correlation of the scientific-technical revolution and social progress is made, for example, in recent publications of P. N. Fedoseyev, F. V. Konstantinov, D. M. Gvishiani, V. G. Afanas'yev, N. V. Pilipenko, Yu. N. Davydov and a number of other Soviet authors.
33. "The Crisis of Democracy. Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission (by M. Crozier, S. Huntington, J. Watanuki. Introductory note by Z. Brzezinski), New York, 1975.
34. De Martino, "L'Attualita del Marxismo," RINASCITA, 17 March 1978; and G. Chiaramonte, "Le idee di democrazia e socialismo nella sinistra italiana," RINASCITA, 17 February 1978.

35. The aspiration to reexamination the generally accepted position on this fundamental question which was expressed in an article published as a contribution to the debate by the journal RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR (No 3, 1978, p 8) is considered unjustified.
36. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 16, p 11.
37. L. I. Brezhnev, "Following Lenin's Course," vol 6, p 333.

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## IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES DISCUSSED

Moscow OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 5, Sep 1978 signed to press  
18 Aug 78 pgs 93-106

[Article by Karen Brutents\*: "The Developing Countries: Problems of Ideologic Confrontation"]

[Text] The colonial system in Asia and Africa has practically been destroyed, but this does not mean that the world historical process of the liberation of the east, its rise along the stages of human history, and the winning by it of a worthy place in the common fate of mankind and the world social progress has been completed.

Ideology as the most important force in the mobilization of the masses plays an enormous role in this progressive movement and the conflict between progressive social forces and reaction. The ideological struggle expresses and gives shape to the struggle which is occurring in the sphere of economics, politics, social transformations, and culture. And this clash of ideas is occurring in all of the basic problems of development which face young states.

It is impossible to understand the essence and direction of the ideological confrontation taking place in the developing countries without taking account of the profound social changes which are being accomplished there. Although the struggle against neocolonialism continues to be an important aspect of this conflict, the ideological confrontation which is developing

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\* K. N. Brutents is a doctor of historical sciences, professor, and the author of works on the political, socioeconomic and ideological problems of the National Liberation Movement in the countries of Asia and Africa, including: "Critique of the Ideology of Neocolonialism," "Modern National-Liberation Revolutions. Certain Problems of Theory," "Neocolonialism and the Logic of History," and others. The basis of the present article is made up of the introduction and first chapter of the collective monograph, "The Struggle of Ideas In The Modern World," Moscow Politizdat 1978.

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within the liberated countries as a result of the growing class division of society is becoming another increasingly important "deep" aspect of the struggle for independence; the class struggle is also increasingly becoming the key factor for the accomplishment of incompletely national-liberation task. This confrontation is setting the progressive left-wing forces new tasks in the unification, organization, and direction of the struggle and in cultivating a class consciousness in the workers.

In recent years clashes between various social coalitions have become a characteristic feature of the disposition of political forces. Practically speaking, even up to the present stage in these countries, there has rarely been a single class which has been capable of carrying out the direction of the social process, in the groupings which have been confronting one another have not had a "pure" class character. For this reason, as a rule, social coalitions of various types have been in power and have come in conflict with one another. Now this fact has turned into an especially important characteristic of the ideological and political movement.

A tendency towards a socialist orientation is an essential tendency in the development of the liberated countries -- and this is confirmed by the experience of the 1970s. It arises from the very depths of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa, is reproduced again and again despite all difficulties, and sometimes temporary defeats. This is shown by the expansion of the group of countries with a socialist orientation as a result of the triumph over colonialism by the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Angola, the victory of the national democratic movement, and the movement toward a progressive course in Ethiopia, the Republic of Benin, and the Malagasy Republic, and the increasingly graphic manifestation of revolutionary democratic tendencies in a number of other developing countries on various continents. This is also concerned by the development of the states with socialist orientation themselves, many of which have entered the third and fourth five-year periods of their existence. As was noted at the 25th Congress of the CPSU new progressive changes have occurred in the economic and political lives of these states.

Thus, anti-capitalist tendencies are a new and essential aspect of the content of the modern national anti-imperialist revolutions and the national-liberation movement as a whole. The basis of these tendencies is made up of the socio-economic, political, and ideological processes which are being accomplished in the young states and in the motive forces of the liberation revolutions, and also the international conditions for their development. The international preconditions for the anti-capitalist tendencies are determined by the qualitatively changed balance of power between progress and reaction on the world arena and by the global role of socialism thanks to its transformation into a

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world political, economic, and ideological power. They are also being determined by the development of the national liberation movement as a component part of the world revolutionary process and by the close interaction and alliance between the forces of national liberation and the socialist system and international proletariat.

However, the final result of the conflict between the capitalist and anti-capitalist, socialist tendencies in the liberated countries depends chiefly on internal processes: Upon the ripening of the socio-class structure, the degree of democratization, the growth of class consciousness, the strengthening of the role of progressive social organizations and parties and similar factors.

In recent years the results of the development of socialist orientation countries have not been equaled. In some of them, despite an unchanging general line of development and forward movement in a number of important directions, there have, at the same time, been steps backward in certain fields. In a number of countries there has been increasing pressure from reaction which is provoking confrontation between revolutionary democrats and communists. Finally, individual regimes have experienced an entire cycle of reactionary rebirth.

The fact of the matter is that the class struggle is becoming sharper also in progressive states. The very socialist orientation of this state is at the center of this struggle. In this connection the question of guaranteeing it is becoming especially important and, moreover, the events of recent times are attracting attention to attempts by right wing groups who are acting within the revolutionary democratic structure and drawing their strength from petty bourgeois and bourgeois elements to achieve a degeneration of progressive regimes.

Until recently we spoke with completely good reason about the fact that imperialism was the chief enemy. Now, while retaining this formula, we must apparently speak about imperialism as entering into an alliance (or, at least, into a collaboration) with class forces which represent as it were a mixture of its previous and new partner-clients. One of the peculiar characteristics of the disposition of class forces today consists in the fact that the reactionary forces within many countries as well as certain states, are increasingly taking on the initiative in the struggle against the progressive forces of the liberation movement, led and directed, of course, by imperialism.

Without giving up counter-revolutionary violence, domestic reaction is at the same time using every widening use of a method of a special kind of "enveloping" of revolutionary-democratic regimes with a reactionary cobweb, and in this sense a further merging of its tactics

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with the tactics of imperialism is occurring. Along with political and economic pressure and with openly subversive actions, imperialism's line consists in opposing the further "radicalization" of progressive countries and in helping to strengthening right wing nationalists and bourgeois-bureaucratic groups and also in providing them with support in overthrowing revolutionary-democratic power, if the effort is directed at gradually changing its domestic and foreign policies do not produce an effect.

The present day tendencies of the national-liberation movement determine the basic directions of the struggle of the ideas which comprise its conceptual basis. First of all, this is the clash between the ideologies of neocolonialism and anti-colonialism. Secondly, it is problems of a social order: The selection of a path of socio-economic transformations which is at the roots of the whole specter of its theoretical bases which are at conflict with one another -- from bourgeois conceptions of development to the theory of scientific socialism. Along with these polarities in the sphere of social consciousness, there are in operation a large number of ideological forms which express the complexity of the social structures of the developing societies which continue to remain multi-structured societies of a transitional type even where the chief structure has already taken a definite form; there are also present here elements of social consciousness of groups which have been engendered not only by feudal, but also even by patriarchal-communal relations. An important and, frequently, leading role in the struggle for the future belongs to the ideology of the basic masses of the developing societies -- revolutionary democracy.

In order to understand the character of the ideological struggle and the content of the ideological currents which are functioning in the countries of the east it is essential to take account of the complexity and eroded nature of the class structure of a transitional society which is what exists in Asia and Africa, the lack of a clear strata of classes and groups and the interweaving connections of many of them with one another and, as a consequence, their mutual influence.

Depending upon the social status of the class or group and the prospects which are connected with their socio-economic nature of the society being built, there is the character of their political role which they play in development and the character of their ideology. Certain classes (feudal and semi-feudal and the non-comprador bourgeois) belong to a thoroughly reactionary direction. Others (the current national bourgeoisie) belong for the most part to the conservative part of society. Still others (the working class, the toiling peasantry, and most of the "middle" strata) belong to its progressive part, to those forces which are continuing to deepen the national liberation movement and to carry out

its general democratic program. Of course, the degree of their progressiveness and consistency varies, but at the present time it is they who are helping most in progressive transformations.

In their ideologic argumentation which fixes their political and philosophical platform, these currents make use of the conceptual arsenal which is a part of their national cultures, and also the cultures of other countries and regions. Sometimes they even take the same cultural material (for example, the idea of the nation, religion) which, however, receives varying interpretations depending which side make it a weapon in the ideological battle.

We shall not examine all of the aspects of the ideologic polemics here -- it is multifarious. Let us concentrate on an analysis of the basic direction of this battle -- the ideological expression of the struggle for a social type of development: Capitalist or non-capitalist orientation toward socialism.

In characterizing these two confrontational ideological directions it is necessary to note that the bourgeoisie (and we will be speaking here chiefly about the national bourgeoisie since this is the bourgeoisie which represents the local bourgeoisie) as a result of its late emergence on the arena of historical action and its powerlessness to work out its own ideological position capable of attracting the masses to it during the course of a liberation struggle has also made use of ideas which have elicited the sympathy of the workers -- the ideas of socialism. Of course, the working masses themselves, with the exception of their vanguard proletariat, have an understanding of socialism which has had and still has a vague and general character of the idea of a society of social justice, an idea which is far from the scientific theory which has developed in Marxism-Leninism. The idea of socialism during the course of the national liberation movement was combined with another fundamental idea -- the idea of the nation. The result of this is a synthesis of various kinds of theories of a non-proletarian socialism, frequently appearing under the flag of "national socialism." It is precisely this flag that various active classes and social groups are adopting in the struggle for social transformation. It is precisely within this current that such important political and ideological directions as the conservative-conformist and revolutionary-democratic are formed. It is understandable that a wide strata of the working classes, insofar as they still do not possess a social maturity, also frequently come out under this flag, comprising the "left" wing of the revolutionary democracy. But its vanguard which is led by communist parties is armed with the ideology of scientific socialism.

Although certain theories of "national socialism" were advanced as early as the first stage of the national-liberation movements, at that time they still did not play a significant role. Today the slogans of socialism occupy an increasing place in the spiritual life of a

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developing country. Showing themselves to be the most characteristic phenomenon in the development of the ideological aspect of the national liberation struggle at the current stage, the slogans of socialism are proclaimed now by a substantial majority of the political parties and prominent public figures, including those who in fact are against any fundamental social transformations. Socialism has been declared to be the official goal and state doctrine in half of the Arab countries, in various states of tropical Africa, and in many countries of Asia.

The chief reasons for this phenomenon have to be sought, in the first place, in the growing authority and revolutionizing of socialism. With the achievement of independence the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies received access to one degree or another to the experience of Soviet Union, its eastern republics, certain other socialist states which at the moment of the formation of a new social structure were approximately at the same level of development as the present one of the liberated countries which very rapidly overcame their backwardness.

These causes, secondly, are also contained in the special features of the current stage of the national revolutions when the dimensions and complexities of the socio-economic and economic tasks which have arisen after the conquest of political independence are showing themselves very acutely, as of necessity for the concentration and well-directed use of all existing resources; in this situation there is frequently revealed an inability, and frequently a lack of desire on the part of local entrepreneurship to make the necessary contributions to the cause of reconstruction.

Finally, and thirdly, of enormous importance is the spontaneous attraction to socialism of the masses in the greater part of the politics of the developing countries which is nourished by their anti-imperialist and anti-colonial feelings.

As for the fact that the conceptions of the so-called "national socialism" are the most widespread ones in the former enslaved countries, this is explained by a number of factors. Among them one has to name the level of the social development of these countries, the character of the social base of the national-liberation movement and the strength of nationalistic feelings which together with a conscious endeavor by certain political groups to shield themselves from the influence of "foreigners" and, in fact, above all progressive views has engendered a strongly expressed endeavor to advance "their own" conceptions of socialism.

Nevertheless, the putting forward of theories of socialism of a "national type" is to the discreditization of capitalism in the eyes of the broad masses of the countries of Asia and Africa, and this is

the chief social significance of such theories of the current states.

Of course, this current frequently does not have clearly defined borders, which is connected with not only the phenomena of ideological fabrications and a deliberate redressing into falsely socialist clothing, but also with the lack of a scientific idea about the socialist system. As a result of the unprecedented growth of the prestige of socialism, on the one hand, and the enormous longing of the peoples of the liberated countries for rapid economic progress and for profound social transformations, on the other, this leads to the fact that every endeavor toward progress presents itself -- and for the most part sincerely -- as socialistic, while almost every politically dynamic group which claims a serious influence presents itself "in the name of socialism." Gunnar Myrdahl was not so far from the truth when he established the fact that with the extraordinary popularity of socialism in southeast Asia, its understanding there is marked by a great lack of clarity, so that the concept of "socialism" is frequently used as a synonym for the concepts of "nationalism" the "idea of modernization," and so forth.<sup>1</sup>

The conceptions of "national socialism" are far from being homogeneous in their form and, especially, in their essence. They provide a reflection for various and even contradictory class positions. At one poll here they are represented as sincere supporters of socialism, and at the other, forces for which the oath to be faithful to socialism serves as a camouflage for anti-popular policies. Under such circumstances the illucidation of the real content of these conceptions and their differentiation become a central task of any objective analysis.

This is all the more important since many bourgeois students of this problem are characterized to one extent or another by a tendency to depict all the conceptions of "nationalist socialism" as a single whole. From their point of view this approach is quite right, since it makes it possible for them to avoid "sharp corners" and to muffle the socio-class aspect of the problem. It is hardly possible, for example, to entirely blame the methodological faults of bourgeois sociology for the fact that certain reactionary ideologists squeeze into the procrustean bed of "African socialism" all the currents in the countries of Africa which proclaim socialism. Acting in this way, bourgeois propaganda greatly exploits the real fact of the existence in the very conceptions of "national socialism" of common features which are the result of similarities in certain important elements of history, social structure, and spiritual life, and so forth.

Let us begin with the fact that these conceptions put forward socialism above all as a necessary means of accomplishing national-liberation tasks, rapid independent development and national renaissance. On the other hand, capitalism with its economic system, political institutions,

and ideology is criticized not only as an "unjust" social system, but above all as the "source" of imperialism and colonialism. It is this way of looking at the question that gives expression to the historical specific nature of the conceptions of "national socialism" which arise in the former enslaved countries where social development is still accomplishing the task of liberation. In one of his speeches President J. Nyerere of Tanzania stated: "I believe that not a single underdeveloped country can permit itself anything else but to become socialist."<sup>2</sup>

The theory of "national socialism" has to a substantial extent a composite character. Bourgeois writers frequently even call it "eclectic socialism." Along with elements of traditional ideology, a substantial place is occupied in them by borrowings from diverse, and at times, even incompatible ideological sources. And this is understandable when consideration is given to the social lack of homogeneity and, at times even antagonism of groups and elements who are behind the conceptions of "national socialism," the endeavor proclaimed by the leaders of the liberated countries to arm themselves with "their own" ideology and also the conditions of the formation of these theories which developed under the ideological influence of the socialist and capitalist worlds.

At the same time, it is essential to emphasize the especial influence which these theories, as a rule, experience in one or another form from Marxism, above all with respect to the critique of imperialism and the substantiation of specific principals and methods of economic development.

Of course, it has to be kept in mind that the borrowing by conceptions of "national socialism" of Marxist propositions is frequently accompanied by transformations of the latter and by a more or less significant -- depending on the political position of the proponent of these conceptions -- distortion.

The conceptions of "national socialism" are characterized by an inseparable connection with nationalist ideas. This can be seen clearly in the example of program document of Kenya's African National Alliance, "African Socialism And Its Application In Planning In Kenya." According to the statement, "African socialism" is a "term which characterizes an African political and economic system which is African in the full sense of this word, and is not imported from any other country and does not represent a copy of any foreign ideology."<sup>3</sup> The nationalist coloring reflects the general ideological atmosphere in which these conceptions are formed, as well as the fact that nationalism is one of their ideological predecessors and sources. In addition, this is a manifestation, conventionally speaking of a certain "withdrawal" by nationalism which frequently does not act in an entirely independent way, but finds shelter

under the roof of "socialist" theories. The ideas which are borrowed from a nationalist arsenal are subordinated to a greater or lesser extent -- some times in a very specific form -- to the needs of these theories, although they remain a quite independent inclusion. At the same time a contrary process is occurring -- the profound influence of these ideas on the other component elements of the conceptions being considered.

The supporters of "national socialism" as a rule, make assertions about the "special historical individuality" of the peoples of Asia and Africa and about the "socialist" potentialities which are characteristic of their way of life, or even the existence among these peoples of a "socialist system" during the pre-colonial period.

In their conceptions of a socialist society the supporters of "national socialism" assign a special, not the chief, place to moral and ethical aspects, defining socialism as a "method of seeing or state of the soul." This approach in many cases is connected with the proposition that the path to socialism consists of elimination of unjust distribution.

The ideologists of "national socialism" frequently put their conceptions into a close connection with religious ideas, and quite often even deduce them from these ideas. Thus, L. S. Sengor declares religiosity to be one of the principals of Sengalese socialism, asserting that it is an inseparable quality of the "nature" of Africans.<sup>4</sup>

And the last point of this condensed characterization: the theories of "national socialism" are not anything which have been completed and definitely formed. They have a transitional character in keeping with the transitional character of the present socio-economic relations in the liberated country, the current phase of the development of the national liberation, and the political level of the masses and their leaders.

It would, however, be a serious error to take the common theoretical and philosophical features in the conceptions of "national socialism" as a basis for drawing a conclusion concerning the fundamentally analogous character of these conceptions, and, especially to seeing them as being equal--not only because the conceptions of national socialism" has substantial differences in the sphere of theory itself. The chief point is that behind the formal closeness and similarities of certain features and propositions and behind the external likeness of a number of special characteristics there is concealed a completely different and even quite often opposing class positions and ideological-theoretical thrusts. This is why in order to throw light on the real face and essence of the conceptions of "national socialism" and in order to make any attempt to differentiate them it is obviously essential to have an analysis not only and not so much of their theoretical content as of the political course which is conducted under their auspices. And,

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indeed, as soon as we get into the field of political practice we frequently encounter the fact that theoretically similar or even coinciding propositions are used for the pursuit of completely different courses.

If we proceed precisely from these criteria -- that is, from the politics and social character of the forces which put forward the theories of "national socialism" and from the ideological and political thrust from these theories -- it would be right to distinguish two basic directions from them: reformist (or, conservative-reformist) and revolutionary-democratic.

The orientation and social base of the first of these directions have a primarily bourgeois or petty bourgeois character ("primarily" because these social forces usually combine with one another, although in various proportions), while the second -- again primarily -- has a petty bourgeois-peasant and semi-proletarian.

In addition a special place is occupied by conceptions proclaimed by feudal groups and neo-comprador elements. They have a purely demagogic character; by means of them the feudal-bourgeois reaction attempts to remove the masses from the path of national independence, anti-imperialism, and social progress.

The conceptions from the political party belonging to the revolutionary or reformist groups which have armed themselves with them frequently have special characteristics which do not fit into a generalized characterization of the groups. In addition, in actual life the dividing line which separates the reformist wing from the revolutionary one does not only pass between the various parties. Sometimes and to no lesser extent this dividing line also exists within various parties as a consequence of the sociological and ideological heterogeneity of the forces which make them up. For this reason, in each individual instance only a leading tendency is meant. Finally, it also has to be considered that within the conservative-reformist (as well as the revolutionary-democratic) direction there are serious differences from country to country. This is connected with the unequal conditions of the various countries, with the unequal positions of the local bourgeoisies and the acuteness of the contradictions with imperialism, and with the concrete balance of power existing between the bourgeois and petty bourgeois supporters of these theories.

In essence, the "national socialism" theory of the conservative section do not go beyond the framework of bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic reformism. They are basically subordinated to the interests of the local bourgeoisie and the bourgeois forces. They also reflect to one extent or another the feelings of the petty bourgeois groups which are now under

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the political and ideological hegemony of the bourgeoisie -- local or foreign. These theories serve as a cover for a policy which has as its goal the overcoming of economic and social backwardness, the weakening and in the final analysis, elimination of dependence upon imperialism (frequently by means of a compromise polity with respect to it) on the basis of the establishment of capitalist relations frequently within the framework (at least for the immediate historical period) of state capitalism.

True, such a 'projection' of these theories onto practice is for many of the non-bourgeois supporters (including certain leaders) for the most part not a matter of a conscious choice, but rather, a spontaneous result of a policy whose real meaning is frequently hidden from them by a curtain of "supra-class" illusion. These theories are significant above all as a symptom of the inability of capitalism to act openly. They also testify to the fact that certain circles of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia in the liberated countries are aware not only of the unpopularity of the capitalist system among the masses but also of the limited nature of the transforming potential of local capitalism and they want to use the experience of socialism in their own interests.

Having come to the conclusion that the "classical" path of capitalism as it was traversed in the west is impossible in the former colonies and semi-colonies, and striving to accelerate economic development and cope with certain of the most acute social problems, bourgeois and pro-bourgeois circles in a number of African and Asiatic countries are attempting to employ methods which have demonstrated their effectiveness in the socialist states. Of course, they emasculate their genuine socialist content in doing so. The leaders and ideologists in the ruling groupings of these countries come out for the creation and strengthening of the state sector, the use of planning principals, development of cooperation in the village, and so forth. While expressing themselves in favor of these measures and to one or another extent carrying them out, bourgeois circles also concede to the pressure of petty bourgeois strata trying in this way to calm the anxiety of the small property owner to his fate. With the help of such methods these circles hoped to alleviate the most flagrant vices of capitalism, to muffle the contradiction of bourgeois society in order to strengthen it and to hinder and silence those elements which revolutionized society.

One could also point to special characteristics in the conceptions of conservative-reformist wing at the level of theory itself. These conceptions are characterized above all by the fact that they, as a rule, reject both dialectical and historical materialism and categorically deny the class struggle not only in application to their own countries, but from a general historical point of view, declaring the motive force of social development to be class cooperation.

The adherence of this direction in "national socialism" reject any revolutionary solution of the important problems in the liberated countries. Reformist conceptions universally propagandize "non-class" and "general human" character of socialism, announce it to be a matter equally of the entire nation and insistently deny the existence and socialism of class principals and premises.

The principal of a mixed economy in the reformist understanding of the matter most frequently means extensive possibilities for the development of private capital and, first of all, local but also foreign private capital. As for the state sector, it is frequently not assigned either a dominating role in the economy or the function of controlling the activity of private capital.

The reformist conceptions are characterized by anti-communism and anti-Marxism, frequently concealed, but sometimes also militant. These conceptions are constantly trying to draw a dividing line between scientific socialism as a theory and as a method of development in order to reduce socialism to a sum of methods and a unique "technique" which makes it possible to achieve modernization in the country and eliminate backwardness but which internally is not connected with the socio-economic content of development. They oppose scientific communism, declaring it to be a "false" or "obsolete" doctrine.

The anti-communism of the conservative-reformist conceptions also manifests itself in attempts to oppose -- both in theory and in practice -- communism to socialism and to declare communism to be "unreal" and "ungenuine" socialism. In addition, these theories are characterized by a thorough emphasis and absolutization of national "originality" -- this is not only a nationalistic and petty bourgeois exaggeration, but to a certain extent also the unique form of separating oneself from Marxism and struggling against it. This, in essence, is precisely the aim of the following statement which is contained in the official program document of the Kenya African National Alliance: "The sharp class differences which once existed in Europe are alien to African socialism and do not have any parallel in African society. No class problems arose in traditional society and they do not exist today among Africans."<sup>5</sup>

In fact, this kind of tendency is frequently dictated by the use of the term "national socialism." There are statements to this effect in official documents of certain parties.

There is no doubt that the conformist conceptions of "national socialism" have a definite anti-imperialist and bourgeois-democratic thrust. The critique of capitalism which is contained in them helps to discredit it. However, by speaking in the name of socialism, these conceptions play a negative and, on the whole, demagogic role, opposing the growth of

political consciousness among the masses. The policies conducted under the auspices of these conceptions at times weaken, albeit temporarily, the popularity of the idea of socialism among certain strata of the population.

In principal, it is probably not possible to exclude the possibility of the evolution of individual conformist conceptions in a more or less progressive direction through the radicalization of the petty bourgeois forces which now support them and from the liberation of these forces from the influence of bourgeois and pro-bourgeois circles and that section of the petty bourgeoisie which has solidly tied its fate to the other circles. But this kind of evolution is no less probable than changes of a reverse order.

The conceptions for which the revolutionary-democratic wing stands are of a different character. They reflect the interests and feelings of the broad strata of the pre-capitalist society, chiefly, the peasantry, the semi-proletarian and petty bourgeois masses of the town and country, the urban depths, the radical intelligentsia and sometimes also the developing proletariat; that is, of the motive forces of the national liberation revolution in its second stage.

Peking's leaders are making persistent efforts to influence the ideologic processes in liberated countries. Their influence is reflected in the leftist and adventuristic ideologic positions of certain political groups in the former enslaved countries; it incites militantly nationalistic and chauvanistic feelings here. It would be a mistake, however, to forget that leftist positions, not to mention reactionary nationalistic feelings, can not be entirely or primarily assigned to Maoist influence; important domestic premises also exist for them.

At the current stage of the national liberation movement scientific socialism is becoming an increasingly attractive force in the liberated countries. This is explained by the growing acquaintance of the peoples of these countries with Marxism-Leninism as a theory and especially -- on the basis of the example of the achievements of the socialist countries -- as a mighty lever for social transformation. The factors involved in the popularization of scientific socialism are the communist and workers parties of the former colonies and semi-colonies, the socialist countries which are not now tied to the developing countries not only through the social but also through the state policy, and the international communist movement as a whole.

The communists of liberated countries are revealing the hypocrisy of the feudal-comprador reaction which hides its anti-patriotic plans under a mass of socialist phraseology. They show up the genuine essence

of the bourgeois-reformist false imitations of socialism and unmask the attempts of imperialist propaganda to advertise, as a counterweight to Marxism-Leninism, different variants of unscientific socialism. Within the public opinion of the young states there is a growing awareness of the fact that Marxism has honorably withstood the test of practice in countries with various socio-economic conditions and convincingly proven its creative power in the transformation, in essence, of all of the types of social relations which exist in the world.

Of course, the dissemination of scientific socialism in the former colonies and semi-colonies is a complex process and, apparently, a long one. The backwardness of social relations and the weakness of the proletariat, the limited nature or even the absence of practice in the anti-capitalist struggle, the paramount role in social life of enormous peasant and petty bourgeois masses with their ideologic prejudices and illusions the special features of the position of these countries in the system of world economic relations, the pressure of imperialist propaganda and anti-Marxism which is acquiring increasingly refined forms -- such are some of the serious difficulties in this process.

Nevertheless, social development in the liberated countries, and, above all, the growth of modern industry and of a proletariat, enrichment with the experience of anti-imperialist and class structure, and the strengthening of world socialism is steadfastly leading to the consolidation of the positions of scientific socialism in these countries.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. G. Myrdal, "Asian Drama. An Inquiry Into The Poverty of Nations," Volume II, New York, 1968, Page 819.
2. EAST AFRICA JOURNAL, Volume IV, 1967, No. 8, Nairobi, page 34.
3. "African Socialism And Its Application In Kenya," Nairobi, 1965, pages 23.
4. L. Senghor, "The Theory And Practice Of Sengalese Socialism," Dakar, 1964, page 35.
5. "Kenya's White Paper On African Socialism," London, Nos. 11-12, 1965, page 131

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## WAYS OF IMPROVING ANIMAL HUSBANDRY INDUSTRY ENUMERATED

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Sep 78 p 2

[Georgian officials discuss animal husbandry improvement: "To Be Solved in a Complex"]

[Text] Georgia's animal husbandry began development on an industrial footing comparatively recently. The turning point for this vitally important sector was the republic Communist Party Central Committee 18th Plenum (1975), which outlined a long-term program for its upsurge.

The production of meat more than doubled on the republic's public farms in 1977 compared with 1965, that of milk increased 60 percent, that of eggs increased by a factor of almost 4.5 and so forth. The growth rate of certain of this sector's indicators is today outstripping union-average indicators in Georgia.

Nevertheless, the republic's livestock raisers still have many problems to solve. As the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum observed, among the republics of the Caucasus and Central Asia, Georgia has not yet achieved an appreciable improvement in animal husbandry matters. A most important task is to make the maximum use of the achievements of science and technology and to perfect organizational forms of work, skillfully developing interfarm cooperation.

T. Dzhaparidze, deputy minister of agriculture of the Georgian SSR

The clearly expressed trend of the transition of a number of production cycles and, at times, of all production processes to an industrial footing has been observed in recent years in the development of Georgia's animal husbandry and poultry breeding. Thus more than 60 large-scale and medium-sized stock-breeding complexes are already in operation or are in the process of completion and more than 20 state and 25 interfarm poultry factories are functioning successfully in the republic.

They are as yet of only low relative significance in the production of stock-breeding products. But it is constantly increasing. All these facilities should undoubtedly be regarded as experimental and as prototypes of our future large-scale farmsteads. However, at the present time, irrespective of the sizes of the stockbreeding facilities, scientific-technical progress dictates a number of indispensable conditions--the replacement of manual labor by machine labor and the extensive introduction of automation. The first steps are being taken in this direction.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July (1978) Plenum and the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 12th Plenum set the scientists and practical workers complex new tasks. It is planned by 1980 to achieve an average livestock surrender weight of 300 kilos, and of up to 350-400 kilos in areas of developed animal husbandry. The thoroughbred composition of the productive herd in the republic makes it possible to obtain from each cow an average of 2,000 kilos of milk. Reaching these marks is only possible through the application in practice of scientifically substantiated recommendations and an increase in the qualification of the skilled personnel.

It should be mentioned that the Georgian Zootechnical-Veterinary Training and Research Institute has begun the training of livestock engineers. In addition to biological, these specialists will have considerable technical training.

The fodder base is, as is known, the basis of the development of animal husbandry. The successful solution of this problem under the conditions of the republic is largely connected with the development of interfarm and interrayon cooperation. Rayon and interrayon specialized fodder-production and seed-growing associations are currently being created in Georgia. However, it is necessary to implement a huge package of measures based on the achievements of modern agricultural science to convert fodder production in the republic into a self-sufficient, highly efficient sector.

I. Dzhaniashvili, chief of the Animal Husbandry and Fodder Resources Sector of the Scientific Research Institute of the Economics and Organization of Agriculture

The measures adopted recently to strengthen the fodder base enabled us to procure last year twice as many fodder units as, say, in 1971. Nevertheless, this problem can by no means be said to be solved: the fodder shortfall in the republic runs to more than 400,000 fodder units.

Naturally, some farms were forced to purchase fodder on the side, including fodder from outside of the republic, which is giving rise to a sharp increase in the product's prime costs. Thus the average annual amount of purchased fodder constituted 540,000 tons in 1976-77 or 34.1 percent of the total amount consumed.

Georgia lags considerably behind the union-average indicator of actual fodder expenditure per standard head of cattle. Whereas for the country it amounted to more than 26 quintals of fodder units in 1976 (including more than 29 quintals in Lithuania and Kazakhstan and more than 23 quintals in Armenia), it fluctuates between 17 and 19 quintals in our republic.

Despite the growth in total stocks of the proportion of mixed feed, which constituted 43.2 percent, the role of coarse fodder remains high. Under these conditions it is important to organize its preliminary preparation for feeding. It is essential for this purpose to organize food-preparing houses and feed-preparation shops on all of the republic's farms.

Development of the production of such types of fodder as grass meal and haylage is promising. It is essential to accelerate the introduction of new progressive technological processes in interfarm mixed-feed enterprises and feed-preparation shops.

We cannot fail to be disturbed by the tempo of scientific-technical progress in fodder production lagging behind the growth of animal husbandry and poultry breeding. It will be difficult to count on a sharp increase in the production of meat, milk and eggs and a reduction in the prime costs of livestock-raising products without this lagging having been made good.

G. Agladze, doctor of agricultural sciences and rector  
of the Georgian Zootechnical-Veterinary Training and  
Research Institute

A most promising direction of the development of fodder production in the republic is the rational use of natural fodder land and intensification of the mountain pasture meadow farms. Currently the yield of the mountain haymaking constitutes an average 12-14 quintals per hectare, whereas the productiveness of mountain pasture per hectare does not exceed 6 quintals of fodder units. Considerable areas of land are dirtied by poisonous, weedy and harmful plants, are covered with shrub and stones and are subject to erosion.

Large prospects are opened by the application of small-scale mechanization facilities and an improvement in the techniques and methods of chemical "plowing" with the subsequent undersowing of the grasses. A radical improvement in the little-productive mountain fodder land will enable us to increase its yield many times over and sharply improve the quality of the hay. Measures in this direction can be implemented over an area of no less than 60,000-80,000 hectares, which will provide an additional 180,000-240,000 tons of high-quality hay.

The mountain pastural meadow farm has specific conditions, and the creation of a set of machinery for the comprehensive mechanization of all operations and the construction of cable-drawn fixed and mobile installations for the shipment of hay, green bulk and fertilizer are essential for it to be run intensively. Insofar as on many tracts it is impossible to apply fertilizer and herbicides with ground equipment there must be a positive solution of the question of the employment of helicopters here.

Sh. Verulashvili, candidate of technical sciences and deputy director of the Georgian Scientific Research Institute of the Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture

I will begin by saying that many mechanisms and machines for servicing animal husbandry and fodder production have been created in our institute in recent years. These include a portable milking unit for four cows simultaneously, which makes it possible to service 30-35 animals an hour. A sheep-shearing machine and a mobile sheep-shearing station for range sheep breeding. The machine is already being produced by the Aktyubinsk Agricultural Machine-Building Plant and is being employed both in our country and abroad.

I could continue with such examples. However, it is necessary to speak of another matter. New or modernized equipment is frequently produced in an insufficient quantity, which constricts the extent of its introduction. Thus the institute's research assistants modified the T-25 tractor and the T-16M self-propelled chassis. This made it possible to create a hay-harvesting unit which moves easily along an incline of a steepness of up to 22 degrees. It mows the grass, cuts it in swatches and stack it and performs transportation operations. But only 30 of the modified tractors and 15 of the self-propelled chassis are as yet operating in the republic.

The institute has now formulated recommendations on the modernization of existing farmsteads with a small herd and the introduction of comprehensive mechanization on them. However, animal husbandry complexes for 400, 600 and 800 head are, of course, the ones of the future. The introduction of progressive equipment and techniques and other achievements of scientific-technical progress in them has been made considerably easier and has a big economic impact for less expenditure.

Z. Menteshashvili, chief of the "Gruzzhivprom"  
Association Specialized Farms Administration

Some 12 complexes for the production of milk, three for the rearing and fattening of cattle and the same number of pig-breeding complexes today operate in Georgia. Before the end of the five-year plan, it is planned to increase the number of dairy complexes to 42, fattening complexes to 11 and pig-breeding complexes to six. It is undoubtedly a very rich program.

However, the construction of new animal husbandry facilities is not in itself capable of providing big returns. It is important to solve a whole number of problems connected with the operation of the complexes.

The experience of past years shows that certain of them have been lacking a fully-fledged fodder base. Thus animal husbandry complexes were created in Vanskiy and Chkhorotskuskii rayons, each of which having only 125 hectares of fodder land instead of 800 hectares. This makes it more difficult to maintain the animals and leads to an increase in the prime cost of the products. For this reason, when siting animal husbandry complexes in the future the scientists and planning organ workers must objectively consider the possibilities for development of the fodder base. It is the case that areas assigned for fodder land are not utilized as intended simultaneously with the commissioning of the facilities. This also reduces the efficiency of their operation.

A few words about help from the scientists. The forms and methods of their links with production are in need of considerable improvement. No, we cannot complain about a complete lack of support on their part. However, it is the practical workers who, as a rule, are the ones to initiate contacts, and after "bottlenecks" have been revealed, moreover. But cooperation is also essential in the process of the assimilation of the complexes. By virtue of their qualifications, scientists can spot in embryo this unfavorable phenomenon or the other which slips past the attention of people engaged in the solution of practical questions.

N. Dzhmukhadze, chief of the Main Administration of the Mechanization and Electrification of Animal Husbandry Farmsteads of the Georgian SSR Union-Republic State Committee for Production-Engineering Support to Agriculture

I will begin with figures. The volume of assembly operations on the mechanization of animal husbandry farmsteads performed by the "Gruzzel'khoztekhnika" has increased 558 percent this year compared with 1975. The assumption is that over the five-year plan as a whole it will amount to approximately R60 million. Today our committee provides almost all the republic's agricultural construction sites with equipment and performs planning-design work on the retooling of the farmsteads. By this year 996 farms out of 1,002 and all the republic's operating dairy and fattening complexes and heifer-rearing complexes had been switched to the committee's equipment servicing. The equipment-servicing stations which have been set up within the committee system are rendering great assistance here. There are 19 of them, of which 15 are interrayon and four rayon.

For several years the committee's workers, in conjunction with specialists from the Tbilisi Institute of Production Planning and Economic Forecasting, studied the state of mechanization on the animal husbandry farmsteads in the Gal'skiy, Makharadzevskiy and Gegechkorskiy rayons. Local party and

enterprises leaders participated in this work. As a result new types of plans were created for a fundamental modernization of the old farmsteads and for their provision with modern production equipment.

Nevertheless, it has to be confessed that for Georgia as a whole the level of comprehensive mechanization of animal husbandry remains low. There are many reasons for this, and one of them is skilled personnel. The qualifications of the servicing personnel are frequently very low, and for this reason costly equipment on the farms of Bogdanovskiy, Akhaltsikhskiy and a number of other rayons often breaks down.

The fact that the assembly of equipment and startup-adjustment operations on the farmsteads are still being performed jointly by brigades of the rayon agricultural associations and committee departments is having a negative effect on the work. It would be expedient for them to be effected in centralized fashion, entrusting them entirely to the committee's subdivisions. This would make it possible to raise the quality of the assembly work and spare the farm managers the trouble of providing the facilities with equipment, specialists and so forth. Naturally, it is important here that the clients provide us with material and, primarily, metal structures in good time.

V. Gegenava, chief engineer of the "Gruzgiprosel'stroy" Institute

An important place in increasing the profitability of livestock raising is occupied by the question of a reduction in the cost of the construction of production facilities for this sector. Our institute has performed a definite amount of work in this direction. A thorough analysis of model plans was made for the purpose of economizing on metal. It transpired that this task should be solved by the consolidation of the buildings with the use of modern bulk-design solutions.

The rabbit-breeding complexes planned in 1977 may serve as graphic confirmation of the above. The plan of the Kumisskiy Rabbit-Breeding Complex achieved a saving of steel of the order of 130 tons or 18.6 percent. We managed to reduce capital expenditure as a whole by R595,000 or 17.3 percent.

A considerable saving of resources was obtained as a result of a reduction in the area and volume of the buildings of the Sagaredzhoyskiy Dairy Complex for 1,200 cows.

I would like to mention that the question for reserves for economizing on materials becomes more and more difficult with every passing year and demands maximally accurate calculations and a scientific approach. For this reason there is an urgent need for the creation in the institute of a scientific research subdivision which would deal specially with these questions.

Thus the practice of the realization of scientific-technical progress in Georgian animal husbandry shows that, as also mentioned at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee 18th Plenum (1975), it is primarily essential for the successful solution of this problem:

to strive for a further strengthening of the fodder base through an increase in the production of progressive types of fodder, the intensification of natural pasture and acceleration of the introduction of new equipment;

to increase the numbers of livestock, improve breeding work and perfect the veterinary service;

to step up work on mechanization of the farmsteads and also on the creation of machinery for mountain fodder production;

to reduce the materials-intensiveness and cost of the construction of animal husbandry complexes, applying modern architectural-design solutions; and

to upgrade the qualifications of the workers employed in animal husbandry.

The Editorial board plans to devote the next selection of letters to scientific-technical progress in instrument making, in which connection we propose that readers participate in discussing this problem.

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CAREER OF FORMER PRC CHIEF OF STAFF DISCUSSED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Sep 78 p 9

[Article by B. Krymov: "The Death of Lo Chui-ch'ing and Several Questions Arising in Connection With It"]

[Text] On 8 August NCNA reported that one of China's leading military officials, Lo Jui-ch'ing, "died of a heart ailment at 0940 hrs on 3 August 1978, despite intensive treatment."

Lo Jui-ch'ing, who was elected secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and occupied the important post of chief of staff, was one of the first victims of the "Cultural Revolution." He disappeared following a diplomatic reception in November 1965. It was not until a year later that the wall posters reported that Lo had been a part of an "anti-Maoist grouping," along with Lin Hu-chia and certain other individuals.

He was apparently predestined to be discussed belatedly. The death of Lo Jui-ch'ing was reported five days later. Just why? The French Press Agency attempted to answer this question. A report from Peking stated: "reliable individuals" have reported that Lo died in a West German hospital in Frankfurt am Main. Several days passed before his body was delivered to Peking.

The riddles did not stop there, however. The West German doctors asserted that Lo Jui-ch'ing was sent for treatment of his legs, which were crippled by the Red Guards during the "Cultural Revolution." An operation was to be performed. But he died of a heart ailment. Anything is possible, of course, but it is strange that none of the doctors detected heart ailment in time.

If the death of Lo Jui-ch'ing raised so many questions for observers, then his life, or more correctly, his "memoirs," which were recently published in the newspaper JEN-MIN JIN-PAO and were signed by the widow of Lo Jui-ch'ing, Hao Chih-p'ing, probably raised even more questions.

As usual, all of the troubles of Lo Jui-ch'ing are blamed on Lin Piao and the "gang of four." It seems that "Lin Piao saw him as an obstacle to the usurpation of power" and that the conduct of Lo Jui-ch'ing enraged Lin Piao, who "decided to maliciously rid himself of" Lo. And so on, and so forth.

In fact, however, if the article is to be believed, Lo Jui-ch'ing did nothing but praise Mao Tse-tung up to the time of his secret disappearance, even when he was alone with his wife. "Could I actually oppose dear Chairman Mao!" he assured her each time. And "Chairman Mao knew about these sincere feelings of Jui-ch'ing."

All of this is presented as proof of the "infinite devotion" of one and the "paternal concern" of the other. A touching episode is described, which is supposed to prove the "depth of the love" felt by Lo for Mao. When preparations were being made for the famous "swim by Mao Tse-tung in the Yangtse," Lo Jui-ch'ing, who did not know how to swim, "practiced diligently and learned to swim at the age of almost 50 in order to have the possibility of being in the immediate proximity of Chairman Mao."

Such panegyrists of Mao Tse-tung are mentioned throughout the newspaper article. The question naturally arises as to why Lo Jui-ch'ing himself, while he was still alive (he was released from confinement in 1935), never said, never wrote and never related anything of the sort. The conclusion is suggested by the hints contained in the article ("each time, it is only after a determined struggle that he obtains the right to visit Peking") that he was not trusted to the very end, although he was permitted to work in the Military Council. Now, however, following his death, he is used to "clear" Mao Tse-tung.

Following the disappearance of Lo Jui-ch'ing from the political scene in 1965 the Red Guards reported that he "had attempted to commit suicide," jumping from a window and breaking his legs. It was clear to everyone in China that Lo had not crippled himself. People who visited China during those years will recall that a ludicrous portrait of Lo Jui-ch'ing with broken legs and covered with a thick black cross was carried about the streets.

And nonetheless, despite his arrest at Mao Tse-tung's order and despite the physical and mental tortures he suffered in the name of and for the glory of Mao, "his heart, as always, was turned toward Chairman Mao," writes the newspaper. Who would believe this?

A couple named Milton, who worked in Peking from 1964 to 1969 and were in close touch with the behind-the-scene aspect of the callous intrigues under Mao, appraise the disagreements between Mao and Lo, which led to the latter's arrest, in the following manner: "In the struggle begun by Mao Tse-tung even before the Cultural Revolution" to establish his control over foreign policy, one of the main obstacles was the position occupied by Chief of Staff Lo Jui-ch'ing, who believed that the center of American strategy was not in Europe and not in the Near East, as Mao assumed, but in Asia, and that U.S. military operations in Vietnam constituted a real threat to the PRC, and Lo was therefore in favor of coordinated and joint actions with the USSR in one form or another... Following the removal of Lo Jui-ch'ing at the end of 1965 and Lin Hu-chia, first secretary of the Peking city committee, in March 1966, Chou En-lai announced on 10 April 1966: 'China will not take the initiative in provoking a war with the U.S.A.' and intends to continue its talks with the Americans'."

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And this turns out to be the reason. Lo insisted on repelling American aggression in Asia, while Mao and Chou had already outlined a plan for "ping-pong diplomacy" and betrayal of the Asian peoples' national interests. Lo Jui-ch'ing naturally had to disappear.

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## PARTY AKTIV REVIEWS ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 12 Oct 78 pp 1-2

[Report on Georgian SSR party-economic aktiv meeting: "With a Measure of High Responsibility"]

[Text] The meeting of the republic party-economic aktiv, which was held on the eve of the first anniversary of the USSR Constitution, noted with satisfaction that the high enthusiasm of the Georgian working people elicited by the preparations for the nationwide holiday had been embodied in their successes in various sectors of the struggle for the five-year plan and had been expressed in the gaining of the charted boundaries and the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges. The results of this movement of the broad masses and the results of fulfillment of the state plan of the republic's economic and social development in 9 months of the present year were examined by the meeting in the light of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches in Baku and at the Moscow conference of leaders of central ministries and departments and chairman of union republic councils of ministers.

In analyzing the results of the work that has been done and determining the paths of the unconditional fulfillment of the program of the shock year of the five-year plan as a whole the speakers at the meeting were guided by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's valuable instructions in the sphere of our society's further onward movement, the development of its economy and social progress.

The growth of the Georgian SSR's general economic and industrial potential this year has been manifested primarily in the stable high tempo of the development of industrial production. The 9-month program of the manufacture of the gross industrial product and sales thereof was fulfilled ahead of schedule. Products worth almost R100 million were produced in excess of the plan, which constitutes 62.5 percent of the socialist pledges adopted for the year. The industrial production volume increased 7.2 percent, which is higher not only than the plan but also the socialist pledges. And, moreover the average daily manufacture of products is also growing in those ministries and departments the nature of whose work is not dependent on

receipts of agricultural raw material. According to preliminary calculations of the republic Gosplan and Central Statistical Administration, the five-year plan target for industrial production growth has already been met in 3 years of the five-year plan.

It is particularly important that a strengthening of plan discipline has contributed to an acceleration of the production growth rate and that there has been a sharp reduction in the number of downward revisions of the plan.

The production of social amenity and household goods has developed at an increasing preferential pace.

The work results of individual ministries, departments and industrial enterprises were analyzed in detail at the meeting.

Mention was made of overfulfillment of the plans for the generation of electric power by the "Gruzglavenergo" and for oil extraction by the "Gruzneft'" Production Association, which, however, failed to remove shortcomings in implementation of the plan for drilling test pits, on account of which fulfillment of the five-year plan targets for an increase in oil stocks is behind schedule.

With the successful fulfillment of the plan quotas by ferrous metallurgy enterprises for the sale and production of the gross product there has also been an increase compared with the corresponding period last year in the industrial production volume at the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant, the Zestafoni Ferroalloys Plant, the "Chiaturmarganets" Mining Combine and the "Vtorchermet" Production Association.

Successes were also scored by the enterprises of the Ministry of Chemical Industry as a whole. With the exception of the "Gruzbytkhim" and "Gruzpolimerkonteyner" production associations, they were able through correct labor organization and the rational use of raw material resources to operate available production capacity at maximum load, which is so important in the light of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions. More, the entire increase in industrial output was obtained through labor productivity growth.

The collectives of the "Elva" Science-Production Association, the "Elektropribor" Production Association, the Tbilisi Tool Plant and the "Sukhumpribor" Plant worked persistently, continuing to increase the production growth rate and considerably outstripping the average indicator for machine-building enterprises. An increasingly preferential industrial production growth rate compared with that which was planned was achieved by the enterprises of this leading sector as a whole. Given fulfillment of the plan in the final quarter, the growth rate in 3 years will have constituted 132.4 percent compared with the 129.8 percent envisaged in the five-year plan calculations.

But the work results of this sector could have been even better if a number of the enterprises had prevented the disruption of plan fulfillment. Among the laggards are the Rustavi "Tsentrrolit" Plant and the Shoropani "Elektroelement" Plant, the Machine Tool-Building and "Gruzelektromash" production associations and the Tbilisi "Elektroizolit" Plant. The production growth rates are inadequate at the "Bytmash," "Gruzzel'mash" and Small Tractor plants and at a number of other enterprises.

The meeting participants spoke about how important it is to fulfill the plans for the whole of the planned assortment. Yet enterprises of the Ministry of Timber and Woodworking Industry system have since the start of the year under-produced a considerable proportion of the planned volume of splint-slab boards, planed veneer sheet and lumber. Nor was the plan for the production of social amenity and household goods fulfilled. There are enterprises in the sector which are chronic laggards. In particular, despite the fact that the Bzybskiy and Babusherskiy woodworking combines fulfilled the plans, which had been revised downward, in September, they were unable to make good the lagging which had been permitted earlier.

The work of a number of enterprises of the construction materials industry has been justifiably criticized in the past. Numerous instances of mis-management in the republic Ministry of Construction Materials Industry were noted on this occasion also. Although the sector coped with the 9-month production program as a whole, exceeding the plan for the production of certain important products, the plan for the third quarter was not fulfilled, and a considerable quantity of cement, slate, soft roofing materials and roofing paper was underproduced. The impermissibility of interruptions in brick production was emphasized particularly. The production of this construction material, it was said at the meeting, merits the most serious attention in consideration of the anticipated increase in the public's need therefore in connection with the development of collective horticulture. For this reason it is necessary to build up brick-production capacity at an increasingly rapid pace. This is why the Georgian SSR Ministry of Rural Construction's intention of building a brick plant is so valuable. The meeting expressed the wish that the republic's kolkhozes would find an opportunity to build their own, even if small, brick plants--along joint-stock lines, for example. The advisability of this is obvious.

The republic Ministry of Light Industry fulfilled the annual socialist pledge for the production of above-plan products ahead of schedule and provided an additional R11.3 million thereof. At the same time the sector failed to cope with the quotas for the production of raw silk, cotton and woolen yarn, cotton and woolen cloth, carpeting and chinaware. The Tbilisi Production Association for Linen Underwear Manufacture, the Gori Cotton Combine and Tbilisi Worsted Textile Factory are responsible for the bulk of the lagging which was allowed to occur.

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Before the end of the year, this sector's enterprises have to manufacture, in accordance with the production plan, products worth R320 million, which constitutes 25.6 percent of the annual program. This is a difficult task since the fourth quarter's proportion of the annual amount of work time constitutes 24.8 percent. Altogether, excluding enterprises of the Ministry of Food Industry, the industrial production program is 1.7 points in excess of the available work time in the fourth quarter. This has occurred because there was an uneven quarterly breakdown of annual plan quotas in a number of sectors and also the shifting of quotas from the first quarters to the final ones. This applies particularly to enterprises of the all-union machine-building ministries, the republic ministries of timber and woodworking industry and rural construction and the "Gruzglavmontazhspetsstroy." As the aktiv meeting emphasized, for this reason the above ministries, departments, associations and enterprises are called upon to implement a package of measures aimed at the unconditional realization of the plans of the fourth quarter with consideration of the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the annual program as a whole.

While paying tribute to the winners of socialist competition and those who succeeded in making use of available opportunities of production growth, the meeting of the party-economic aktiv concentrated its attention on unsolved questions and shortcomings in the development of the economy and in organizing and political work. The meeting participants evaluated critically and with a measure of high responsibility for the state of affairs in all sectors of the national economy the results of the activity of sectors of the economy and the situation in individual regions, emphasizing the significance of their skillful leadership on the part of the party, soviet and economic organs. A scientific, systemic approach to a comprehensive solution of questions of economics and an ability to forecast the result of the collectives' activity and foresee and, therefore, forestall possible complications--such are just a few of the principal qualities lacking which today's manager is inconceivable. The attitude toward the job and the ability and aspiration, confirmed in practical actions, of the manager to actively influence the results of the collective's efforts and a capacity for directing the enthusiasm and creativity of the working people--this was an object of the aktiv meeting participants' special attention.

Two examples were given at the meeting of a diametrically opposite approach to the solution of the most important production tasks. It is known that over a certain, quite prolonged, interval of time violations in the organization of the parallel performance of extraction of minerals and stripping were permitted at the Madneul'skiy Mining and Enriching Combine. Having analyzed the state of affairs, the combine's new management determined upon an order of priorities in the rectification of the situation which had been created, highlighted the main elements and was able to solve the set task. The national economic plan provided, together with the continuation of stripping of the pit and the treatment of barite ores, for a resumption of the extraction of copper ore at the Madneul'skiy Mining and Enriching

Combine, beginning this September. The combine made timely preparations for the fulfillment of this task and fulfilled the plan for copper-ore extraction for September and the third quarter as a whole 114.5 percent.

An entirely different situation is taking shape at the chronically lagging Zugdidi China Plant, which for a relatively long time now has been absolutely unable to determine where to begin to secure a way out of the debacle.

Successes in general and at any price are no good for us today. In each case the optimum path toward them must be found. Through the efficient expenditure of forces and funds to the high quality of the product--this slogan must be put into effect everywhere. It was from such standpoints that the party-economic aktiv meeting examined the path that has been covered in 9 months and, checking against Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's instructions, outlined concrete tasks for the future.

The speakers at the meeting devoted particular attention to qualitative work indicators.

Since the start of the year the State Sign of Quality has been conferred on 504 different products. Some 1,218 different products are now marked by the honorary pentagon compared with the 900 envisaged by the year's pledges. Yet the specific proportion of products of the highest quality category in the overall volume of production in the last 3 months is not growing in practice and constitutes 9.3 percent. Calculations show that with the present rate of increase in products bearing the Sign of Quality the volume thereof in the republic will constitute by the end of the year under R660 million as against the R850 million in accordance with the pledge. The solution of an extremely difficult task--increasing the proportion of products of the highest quality category to 12 percent by the end of the year--demands the immediate elaboration and adoption of technical and organizational measures and the personal participation in their implementation of ministry, department, enterprise and organization leaders.

The labor productivity growth rate has increased. The production of gross product per person working in the republic's industry compared with the analogous period last year has increased 5.6 percent, which is more than the amount planned for the year and the socialist pledge. The overall increase in the gross industrial product obtained through increased labor productivity also exceeded last year's indicator. However, it constituted 79.2 percent compared with the 82 percent envisaged by the plan for the year. The meeting revealed the reasons for this situation and pointed to the specific culprits. To a certain extent it has been caused by the inadequate skills of the workers of the principal professions, a substantial amount of whole-day and intrashift idling, nonappearances with the administration's permission, and absenteeism. Many enterprises have suffered a drop in productivity compared with last year. They are particularly many in the system of the ministries of timber and woodworking industry, the construction materials industry,

light industry, procurements and construction. The meeting participants pointed the leaders of these ministries in the direction of utilization of the experience to hand in the republic of obtaining the entire increase in output through a growth in labor productivity.

The meeting participants were concerned at somewhat of an increase in the number of enterprises which failed to cope with the plan quotas. The trend which had been discerned over the past 4 years of a constant reduction in the number of lagging enterprises is not underpinned by the results achieved in the 9 months through the fault of individual negligent economic planners and insufficiently active influence on their activity on the part of local party and soviet organs. Since the start of the year the lagging enterprises have underproduced R10.5 million worth of products. Although there are different reasons for these disruptions, they could have been prevented by the skillful maneuvering of resources and precision and high organization in work.

There has been a constant growth in the republic in recent years in the amounts of capital investment assimilated by the construction workers, construction and assembly operations and the commissioning of fixed capital. They also increased markedly in the 9 months of the present year. More attention was paid to projects nearing completion and particularly to important projects and to the concentration of material resources and equipment at them.

There was an increase in the commissioning of housing, schools, kindergarten and vocational-technical schools.

Since the start of the year capacities have been commissioned for the processing of tea leaf at the Tsalendzhikhskaya, Chkhorotskuskaya, Dididzhikhaishskaya and Khobskaya factories, for baking bread at the Khashuri Bread Plant and Sukhumi Confectionary Factory, for the production of juice at the Mtskheta and preserves at the Tamarisskiy canning plants, fruit juices at the plant in Gagra and bottles at the Avchal'skiy and Borzhomskiy glass plants and cigarettes at the Sukhumi Tobacco Factory, and 1,900 hectares of irrigable land of the Verkhne-Alazanskaya irrigation system, the Kumisskiy Rabbit-Breeding Sovkhoz, the Samtredia State Pig Pedigree-Breeding Farm and animal husbandry premises for cattle on the Baltinskiy, Sudzhunskiy and Kasumloyskiy sovkhozes and for pigs and sheep on a number of farms have been commissioned. The Dzhvari-Khaishi power-transmission line-110, the Tbilisi Subway Car Depot, the Vokzal'naya-Delisi lines, the gas pipeline in the Igoyeti-Khashuri sector and a number of other projects have been commissioned.

Nevertheless, the plan for almost all the main capital construction indicators was underfulfilled. Housing construction and the construction of health service, cultural and agricultural facilities lagged particularly. And although the construction workers cite interruptions in the supply of various materials, the lagging was largely caused by their weak organization of their own labor and shortcomings in the use of reserves.

A very great deal depends on the construction workers--the progress of matters in practically all sectors of the economy. For example, because the "Gruzshakhtstroy" Trust is building new mines and galleries at a slow pace the introduction of new capacities in place of those that are out of action is an extremely long-drawn-out process. The Tkibuli "Zapadnaya" Mine failed to cope with the 9-month coal-extraction plan and underproduced 31,500 tons of output not only on account of a shortage of workers of underground professions but also, and far from least importance, in connection with the slow construction of its northern sides. This, in turn, had a negative influence on the work indicators of the entire "Gruzugol'" Production Association, which underfulfilled the 9-month quota. As a result, since the start of the year the Rustavi Metallurgical Plant had underproduced up to 10,000 tons of coking coal concentrate, which led to a reduction in the smelting of cast iron and the production of rolled products. And this is occurring under the conditions of the national economy of the country's constantly growing metal requirements....

The construction workers really do encounter difficulties in their work. But it is incumbent upon them to commission all reserves of an improvement in their activity and strive for a sharp increase in the volume of operations they perform. This is extremely necessary in connection with the fact that, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out, it is necessary to enlist a considerable proportion of the population in socially useful labor in the republic, which, in a number of regions, is connected with the creation of new production capacities and services sphere enterprises, which requires the allocation of additional capital investments. It is impossible to solve this task without the construction workers--indeed, the amount of such investments is frequently determined by the level of capital assimilation achieved the previous year.

The material-technical base of the construction ministries and departments is sometimes growing considerably faster than the volume of operations they perform: this signifies an underloading of capacity--a shortcoming to the need for whose elimination Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed.

The construction workers were strictly criticized for the low level of financial-economic work, an increase in above-normative incomplete construction and extraplan and above-plan expenditure, which are having a negative effect on their production indicators.

Interruptions in the supplies of material resources to production and construction have occurred in many instances because of a lack of due attention to the observance of contractual and credit-finance discipline and to instituting state order in accounting and accountability and have been caused by the insolvency of certain ministries and departments which this year alone owe the Georgian SSR Gossnab millions of rubles for materials which have been shipped to them.

The state of financial affairs is a true mirror of our entire activity. On the other hand, due order in financial matters is an essential condition of the normal uninterrupted functioning of all elements of the national economy. But it is more than just the fact that not every ministry and department is yet studying questions of finances with due seriousness and purposefulness; this most important sector of work has essentially been neglected--as was said at the party aktiv meeting, the finance and banking organs themselves adopt a not very active position. They merely propose measures for a current-basis rectification of the miscalculations made by the economic planners, but fail to formulate proposals for a radical improvement in the state of affairs. Yet these organs, which have been granted big rights, have staffs of highly skilled workers who are capable of making an in-depth and pertinent analysis, drawing the appropriate conclusions and submitting their ideas to the directive organs. Only thus will it be possible to institute real order in this sector and achieve the unwavering observance of a most important form of discipline--financial discipline.

Questions of skillful economic management are moving to the forefront today more than ever before. The present enterprise manager must comprehend the complex mechanism of production activity not "on the whole" but in detail in order that he may influence to the full the progress of plan fulfillment and be in possession of all levers of an increase in labor efficiency and quality. This was stressed at the party-economic aktiv meeting. If each enterprise of the republic had such a commander, certain ministries and departments would not be incurring losses instead of obtaining planned profit.

The republic's agricultural workers have considerable successes to their credit. Despite this year's unfavorable weather conditions, which delayed and complicated agricultural operations, they cultivated big harvests of a number of important crops, primarily a record tea harvest, and procured animal husbandry products better than last year.

An excellent grape harvest has been cultivated in the republic this year through the selfless labor of the kolkhoz peasantry and the sovkhoz workers. This is very gratifying to all and implants in us a sense of pride in our viticulturists. Thousands of working people are employed in the grape harvesting [na rtveli] and are striving to gather and dispatch for processing a generous harvest without losses. In many instances all links of the harvesting production line of plantation-transportation-plant are operating with precision. But the as yet widespread disease of mismanagement is manifested here also, when formal acceptance is artificially held up because of malfunctions in one of the sectors, like the breakdown of some unit or other at the plant, for example. Whence, of course, losses of valuable material; this is not only a material loss but also a total lack of respect for the efforts of those who have cultivated the vine, sometimes under difficult conditions.

No less important than preventing mistakes and miscalculations is the ability to rectify them in good time and prevent them occurring in the future. In this connection the meeting expressed its desires concerning the expediency of the selection of a group of competent specialists who would make a thorough analysis of, for example, the progress of the grape harvesting, reveal typical mistakes and misunderstandings and, on this basis, prepare the corresponding recommendations for subsequent years. Such a practice would undoubtedly be of considerable benefit.

A further recovery has to be made in agriculture--primarily in the business of fulfillment of the state plan of purchases of a number of the most important products and performance of the principal fall operations. The meeting drew the particular attention of the local party, soviet and economic organs to the need for an acceleration in the pace of the harvesting, transportation and processing of the harvest without losses and also the thorough preparation of the livestock for wintering.

The meeting listened with great interest to reports on our scientists' most important scientific developments, which are being successfully introduced in production. These are, in particular, an automated control system which has given a good account of itself in the grape harvesting--a prototype of the future republic automated control system; instruments from particularly strong alloys; a system of the power-operated protection of the vineyards; and others. There was emphasis on the significance of the scientists' direct participation in the introduction of their development in practice and of the further strengthening and extension of science's ties to production, a form of which is creative collaboration according to the principle "scientific research establishment--design office-plant." Such mutual relations have been taking shape in our republic for some time, but they have still not become widespread. But it is precisely this which is demanded by the interests of the accelerated development of the economy and all its spheres. The role of science as a direct production force should grow increasingly. The aktiv meeting said that the problems of the development of science and scientific-technical progress merit more in-depth and detailed discussion.

Report and election meetings are currently being held in the republic party organizations, and rayon and city party conferences will begin soon. The aktiv meeting participants said that in this period it is particularly important to analyze the state of affairs in each primary organization and in each rayon and city and pay the most earnest attention to the style and method of work of the party committees and evaluate objectively, but with all adherence to principle the degree of efficiency of their activity. The majority of them is scoring notable successes, the meeting observed, and many party leaders in the localities enjoy deserved authority and are competently influencing the course of economic and social development of the rayon or city. However, there are also committees which are failing to respond to the requirements expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in Baku. The meeting cited examples of unskilled influence being brought to bear in

agricultural matters. It was emphasized that the party leaders are directly responsible both for the correct pursuit of cadre policy, for example, and also, together with the enterprise managers, for the state of affairs in the economy.

Thus there have also been considerable oversights in the development of the republic's economy over the 9 months. The party-economic aktiv meeting spoke about them frankly and with due adherence to principle. Effective measures were outlined for a further improvement in work. Yet the principal trends of the development of the republic national economy and the results of the 9 months allow us to look to the future with confidence and to count on the unconditional fulfillment of the targets of the shock year of the five-year plan.

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KAZAKH GOSSTROY TO IMPROVE CONSTRUCTION MATTERS

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Oct 78 p 3

[Article: "The Attainments of Science into Production"]

[Text] Kazakhstan is a republic of new construction projects. Industrial enterprises and power engineering complexes are being built and expanded; housing, cultural, and services projects are being built; new highways are being laid out and existing ones modernized. Construction is underway in various climatic zones. All this requires a thoroughly scientific approach to solving problems which arise and the broad-scale introduction into production of the attainments of science and advanced practice.

In their decree "Measures to Improve the Efficiency of Scientific Research in the Field of Construction, Architecture, Construction Materials, and Construction and Road Machine Building and to Accelerate the Introduction of Scientific Attainments into Construction Practice" the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR entrusted Gosstroy of the Kazakh SSR with the responsibility for developing science, improving the effectiveness of scientific research, coordinating scientific research by republic scientific organizations and higher educational institutions in the field of construction, architecture, construction materials, and construction and road machine building, and accelerating the introduction of scientific attainments into construction practice.

It has been proposed that Gosstroy of the Kazakh SSR, the appropriate ministries and departments, oblast party committees, and oblast executive committees improve the organization of scientific research and increase the effectiveness of the work of scientific institutions and scientific subdivisions of higher educational institutions concerned with construction problems and increase the role of science in resolving the main problem in the field of capital construction posed by the 25th CPSU Congress -- to guarantee the maximum increase in the effectiveness of capital construction, the most rapid putting into operation and starting up of new production facilities by improving planning, drafting, organizing construction

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production, increasing labor productivity, reducing costs, and improving the quality of construction.

Gosstroy of the Kazakh SSR must take measures to increase the role and responsibility of the scientific and technical council in solving inter-branch problems in the development of science and technology and the organization and economics of production and to assure the broad-scale and systematic participation of specialists, scientists, and practical workers in elaborating the council's recommendations aimed at stepping up scientific and technical progress.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR expressed the firm conviction that scientists, engineers, architects, and economists, as well as scientific research institutions, construction ministries and departments, and the organizations and enterprises subordinate to them take all measures necessary for the maximum acceleration of scientific and technical progress on the basis of broad-scale introduction into construction practice of the latest achievements of science, technology, and advanced experience.

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## ROLE, IMPORTANCE OF PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITIES REVIEWED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 78 pp 2-3

[Article by A. Plotnikov, chairman of the Republic Council of People's Universities: "An Important Form of Ideological Work"]

[Text] The third year of the Tenth Five-Year Plan is coming to a close. Workers, kolkhoz workers, and the intelligentsia of Kazakhstan are working at an inspired pace to implement the socio-economic program adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress and are persistently transforming into reality the decisions of the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the advice and directions of L. I. Brezhnev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, pronounced at the solemn session in Baku and at the conference on problems in completing the harvesting. They marked the first anniversary of the day the new USSR Constitution was adopted with gifts of labor.

The increased requirements regarding the substance of all our ideological work indicate the progressive development of Soviet society and the intensity and rate of its social renewal and make it incumbent upon us to seek and develop its most effective forms, increase its effectiveness and efficiency, and strengthen the ideological training of the broad masses of workers. People's universities occupy an important place in the network of party ideological work and training. They have now become one of the most effective forms of mass education and self-education, the raising of their ideological, theoretical, and cultural level, professional training and retraining, and development of social activity. The CPSU Central Committee is devoting much attention to the development and perfection of this important form of ideological work among the masses. In its decree "On Improving the Work of People's Universities" adopted in 1968 the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that given the present conditions of communist construction, maximum scientific and technical progress, the work of the party and state to overcome differences between mental and physical labor and between the city and country and to raise the general educational and cultural-technical level of the workers, the role of the people's universities is increasing immeasurably. Important measures for improving

their operation were defined in the decree. It proposed that organizations of the Znaniye Society, tradeunion and Komsomol organs, ministries, and departments should activate the work of developing people's universities, perfecting the academic work and training carried out in them, and utilizing extensively active forms and methods of lessons. Special attention was paid to developing in students habits of self-study and consolidating knowledge obtained and to its practical application in production and social work. It proposed strengthening academic and methodological assistance to people's universities. For the purpose of further improvement and coordination of the work it recommended that there be formed a Central Council of People's Universities, councils of people's universities at the republic, oblast, city, and rayon level. The practice of creating such councils for appropriate branches of knowledge in ministries and departments was approved.

The documents of the 25th party congress and a number of documents of the CPSU Central Committee set forth the necessity for maximum development and perfection of the work of the people's universities. Ten years have passed since the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee decree on the people's universities. These years have been a period of persistent implementation of measures stemming from the Central Committee decree. Under the direction of party organizations the republic has carried on the great work of further formation and organizational perfection of the network of universities, expansion of the contingent of their students, and improvement of academic and educational work. The people's universities, which arose in answer to the Soviet people's persistent striving for knowledge, for a steady improvement in the level of their general education and professional knowledge, have been transformed into a mass form of worker training. Their popularity increases with each year. In the 1960-1961 school year the republic had in operation 130 people's universities. In the 1968-1969 school year there were 1,494, while the number increased to 3500 in the 1978-1979 school year. There are presently over 550,000 persons studying in them; this number has more than doubled in the last 10 years. Almost half of the students are workers and kolkhoz workers; over 230,000 are young people up to the age of 30.

In creating the people's universities the ever increasing and diverse interests of the people in scientific studies, the social and production demands of labor collectives, and problems of ideological guarantees for meeting the most important national economic goals came to be considered far better. As a result students are being taught almost 50 branches of knowledge, whereas in the 1968-1969 school year there were only 20 thematic courses.

Universities having a socio-political profile were developed extensively. Over 600 of them are operating according to study programs using materials of the 25th CPSU Congress, the constitutions of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR, problems of international life, legal knowledge, military and patriotic training, urgent problems of scientific atheism, international and patriotic training, standards of living, and morals.

The general trend in the development of the system and in the increase in the student body in recent years indicates the ever growing role of people's universities in meeting the goals set by the five-year plan. The 375 people's universities for economic studies, technical progress, and agricultural studies, with their almost 70,000 students, are providing substantial aid in the improvement of workers' professional qualifications, scientific and technical progress, and the introduction of inventions and innovative suggestions. An important place in the academic programs of many of them is occupied by problems of new equipment and technology, management, and socialist competition, problems to which the 25th CPSU Congress paid special attention. A total of 2,367 teachers are studying the fundamentals of teaching at 19 people's universities and 895 people's controllers are studying at eight people's universities.

Moreover, the number of people's universities teaching culture, medicine, and pedagogy has also increased significantly. There are 36 television and radio universities in operation in various branches of knowledge. In recent years the system of universities has been most actively formed in Alma-Atinskaya, Vostochno-Kazakhstanskaya, Karagandinskaya, Tselinogradskaya, and Chimkentskaya oblasts.

Three main trends in the work of republic people's universities have been defined, as they have for the country as a whole:

universities capable of forming and satisfying the interests and spiritual needs of the Soviet people and increasing their knowledge in a particular field;

universities preparing cadres for public professions; and

universities improving professional and job qualifications.

Implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree on people's universities has made it possible to achieve a certain improvement in the forms and methods of academic and educational work and to elevate its ideological, theoretical, and methodological level. Active methods of teaching are being introduced more and more. They can develop in the students an interest in their studies, instill in them habits of independent work from books, and teach them to put the knowledge obtained into practice. Seminar lessons, practical-scientific and theoretical-scientific conferences, and the elaboration by students of course work and diploma projects are being used considerably more fully. At the socio-political universities students participate in creative discussions and conversations and in the carrying out of various ideological measures; at technical-economic and agricultural universities they participate in solving problem situations and concrete problems and in job games and economic analysis. Students at cultural universities participate in reviewing films and attending performances and concerts and are involved in various types of artistic

creativity. All this promotes an increase in the effectiveness of the academic and educational process.

Many people's universities, having amassed a wealth of experience in educational and pedagogical work, have in essence been transformed into educational institutions on social principles, which, as a part of the system for the uninterrupted and sequential increase in knowledge and improvement in cadre qualifications, substantially supplement the state public education system and facilitate the forming of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook among the workers, raising their work motivation and political activism. Many examples may be cited of how the creative undertakings and inquiries of their teachers and students and their worthwhile educational and pedagogical work has had a fruitful effect on the improvement of the organization of socialist competition, the increase in the activism of people in production and socio-political life, and the level of their knowledge.

On the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov, Sarkanskij Rayon, Taldy-Kurganskaya Oblast, for example, the mechanization faculty of the university of agricultural knowledge, headed by kolkhoz chairman N. P. Ul'yanov, prepares and re-trains mechanizers. During the past academic year 63 persons increased their knowledge and obtained a higher classification.

The people's university for technical progress of the Lisakovskiy Mineral Enriching Combine in Kustanayskaya Oblast has provided basic leadership to the combine in solving problems related to mastering new equipment and technology. In the process of training many students have learned creative approaches to the development of production. A group of university students proposed the building of a milling machine for separating non-standard size ore at the receiving bunkers; this made possible savings on the order of 46,600 rubles. In the course of one school year alone students of this university offered more than 200 efficiency proposals which have provided savings of more than 400,000 rubles.

The 25th CPSU Congress set forth the task of broad involvement of the workers in active socio-political activity. People's universities specializing in public professions are allocated a particularly important role in this regard. There is also much of interest in their activity. About 120 students annually attend such a university at the Turgayskiy Sovkhoz-Tekhnikum, qualifying at the end of the course as a lecturer, sports instructor, and so forth. Students at the People's University of the Petropavlovskiy School study in 13 faculties to become lecturers, leaders of choral collectives, atheist-propagandists, and so forth.

People's universities for legal training under the Urdzharskiy Rayon Culture Club in Semipalatinskaya Oblast, for technical progress under the Ministry of Power Engineering and Electrification of the Kazakh SSR and at the Lisakovskiy Mineral Enriching and Zyryanovskiy Lead combines, for agricultural training at the machine-experimental station in Syrdar'inskiy Rayon, Kzyl-Ordinskaya Oblast, for culture under the Pavlodarskaya Oblast Library imeni Ostrovskiy and many, many others are operating well.

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A major role in the improvement of people's university operations has been played by all-union, republic, interoblast, and oblast conferences, symposia, seminars, and conferences held by various categories of university workers with university participation. Also the legislative strengthening of the role and place of people's universities in the general system of public education in 1973 gave a new impetus to their activity.

Three all-union public inspections, carried out in the past decade, have had a beneficial effect upon the development of people's universities in the republic and in the country as well. They have facilitated an increase in the number of universities, their differentiation, the attraction of new contingents of students, and an improvement in the quality and effectiveness of educational and pedagogical work.

On the basis of data from the inspections, dozens of republic universities were awarded diplomas and valuable gifts, 12 were inscribed in the All-Union Book of Honor for People's Universities, including the Karaganda University of Legal Training, Talgar University for Master Lecturers in Alma-Atinskaya Oblast, the University for Public Professions of the Dzhambulskiy Technological Institute for Light and Food Industries, and others, plus 20 activists from republic people's universities. Moreover, 15 people's universities, 12 activists and four branch councils were awarded medals and diplomas by the USSR Exhibit of the Achievements of the National Economy.

All that is positive and interesting in the work of the people's universities is due primarily to the activism of numerous scientists, teachers, cultural workers, national economic specialists, and party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol workers. At present about 20,000 teacher-public workers are employed in the universities, of whom 731 have scientific degrees and titles. About 15,000 activists work in the public councils.

Guided by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "Concerning the Work of Selecting and Training Ideological Cadres in the Belorussian Party Organization," the republic party organization, Znaniye Society organization, and councils of people's universities have given increased attention to the formation of pedagogical collectives, increasing the theoretical knowledge and methodological competency of teachers and perfecting the work with the aktiv. Universities for master lecturers and courses for raising qualifications given by ministries, departments, and tradeunion organizations have become constantly active forms of teacher training.

The improvement in the activities of republic people's universities was the result of constant concern by party organizations for their development and perfection. Problems of raising the level of their work are regularly discussed in party committees, under their guidance the work of public councils is developed and the diverse activities of the universities directed.

While noting the positive results of the activities of the people's universities, one must not overlook several shortcomings. Unfortunately, many of them still do not give students a structured system of knowledge; frequently study materials are not related to important party and government decisions and the political and social problems of contemporary life. In a number of cases the lesson content does not meet modern requirements, and student needs and interests are not always taken into consideration.

In a number of places the network of people's universities continues to develop in an uneven fashion. People's universities specializing in socio-political knowledge and public professions have not been sufficiently developed. Few universities have been created in the fields of natural sciences and master lecturer. In many universities they have ceased to strive for better teaching and pedagogical levels.

Despite some improvement, methodological assistance to lecturers and teachers is still inadequate. Few study outline plans, programs, and works have been developed and published. Advanced work experience is poorly summarized and distributed.

Some public councils, created in oblasts, towns, and rayons and also under ministries and departments are inadequately fulfilling obligations assigned to them. The academic material base also needs to be strengthened.

People's universities are beginning the new school year. The success of their work will greatly depend on the skillful organization and arrangement of training and all ideological-pedagogical work with students. The councils of people's universities both territorial and industrial are called upon to play a major role here. It is necessary to take all measures possible to avoid repeating the mistakes and oversights of the past school year.

The requirements of the 25th CPSU Congress made very clear the necessity for planned and purposeful development of people's universities. Special attention must be given implementation of a complex approach to resolving party assigned tasks for maximum development of people's universities and perfection of their activities. This means active introduction of complex long-range planning for the development of their network. Major attention must be given the development of universities in rural locales.

Practical experience with people's universities in enterprises and departments shows that they can actively facilitate the professional training of cadres. So we must use these opportunities more extensively and, where these conditions exist, ensure that we have more people's universities for professional training and retraining of cadres.

Participation in the training of tutors is a new, long-range trend in the work of people's universities. However, this network of people's universities is not meeting the scope of the tutorial movement. They have not

yet been established in many oblasts. Oblast, town, and rayon councils must take effective measures to develop a network of universities for tutors.

We must also not permit a slackening of attention to people's universities in the fields of economic knowledge and technical progress.

In advancing the task of extending the network of people's universities, the party is simultaneously directing attention to the necessity for a considerable improvement in the quality of work and perfection of the educational and pedagogical process. The basic task of people's universities was and remains the forming of a communist world outlook among the students, and their instruction in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and activation of their production and public work.

Henceforth, in the work of the universities it is necessary to persistently introduce active forms and methods of instruction and self-study among the students, to ensure a close connection between the material studied and life itself and the meeting of the most important national economic goals of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

It is recommended that the first tasks in the current year at all universities be carried out according to materials of the July (1978) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, and the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "Concerning the Work of Party Organization in Bashkiriya to Strengthen the Role of Worker Economic Education and Increase the Effectiveness and Quality of Work in the Light of the Decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress."

Republic, oblast, and branch councils of people's universities must radically improve academic-methodological work and promptly develop the necessary academic plans, programs, and texts in order to ensure completion of the tasks confronting the universities.

Major and complex tasks face the republic people's universities. Their successful resolution greatly depends on the level of their leadership. It is our obligation to ensure high quality work in the universities and to see to it that they assist the party in every way possible to mobilize the creative efforts of the people to successfully carry out the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the tasks of the Tenth Five-Year Plan.

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